Journal of Eastern Townships Studies

Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est

Eastern Townships Research Centre / Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est

JOURNAL OF EASTERN TOWNSHIPS STUDIES

REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES CANTONS DE L'EST

No 31
FALL / AUTOMNE 2007

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS / REMERCIEMENTS

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Design : VisImage

Printing/Impression : Imprimeries Transcontinental, division Métrolitho

Legal deposit / Dépôt légal : 2nd quarter, 2007 / 2e trimestre 2008

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RECONSTRUCTION OF FLOOD EVENTS AND LINKS WITH CLIMATIC FACTORS: A CASE STUDY OF THE SAINT-FRANÇOIS BASIN

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Abstract

Many rivers of the Saint-François Basin are prone to frequent flooding, which affects several of the region's communities. This was mainly due to heavy spring floods or ice jams on the river, which caused water levels to rise rapidly and river banks to overflow. In some cases, major flooding was caused by heavy summer or fall rain. The first objective of this study deals with the historical and chronological reconstruction of flood events, as well as the identification of the major floods that occurred in the last century. The second objective deals with the analysis of precipitation data and streamflow variations (discharge) over the past century and their link to the recurrence of flooding. Variations in river flow are also studied with respect to the major floods which have occurred over the past century in this area. The historical reconstruction of flood events in the study area was done using data obtained from different sources (e.g. government reports, regional monographs), and the hydrometeorological data provide from the database of governmental agencies. It can be noted that the flood rate has been on the rise since the 1970s, especially from 1970 to 1990. There appears to be a certain decrease in the flood frequency after this period. The fluctuations noted in terms of the rainfall and hydrological data follow roughly the same trends, which can also be found in flood frequency variations. The hydroclimatic factors (precipitation, streamflow) appear to play a major role in the increase of flooding in this area. Furthermore, anthropogenic factors may play a role in the exacerbation of flooding, but their impact is still difficult to determine.

Résumé

Plusieurs rivières du bassin de la rivière Saint-François sont affectées par de fréquentes inondations, touchant ainsi plusieurs municipalités sises le long de ces cours d'eau. La plupart de ces inondations sont dues aux crues printanières et aux embâcles qui causent un rehaussement rapide du niveau des eaux et un débordement des rivières.

Des inondations importantes sont parfois causées par de fortes pluies estivales ou automnales. Le premier objectif de cette étude est la reconstitution chronologique des événements d'inondation, ainsi que l'identification des inondations majeures qui se sont produites depuis un siècle. Le deuxième objectif est l'analyse des variations pluviométriques et d'écoulement en rivière (débits) et leurs liens possibles avec la récurrence des inondations. Les variations de débits des rivières sont aussi examinées en regard des inondations majeures qui se sont produites depuis plus d'un siècle dans cette région. La compilation historique des données des inondations est basée sur la consultation de différentes sources documentaires (rapports gouvernementaux, monographies régionales, etc.), alors que les données hydrométéorologiques proviennent principalement des bases de données des agences gouvernementales. On peut noter une augmentation des inondations depuis les années 1970, avec une hausse plus marquée entre la période de 1970 à 1990. Après cette période, on note une certaine diminution de la fréquence des inondations. Les facteurs hydroclimatiques (pluviométrie, écoulement) apparaissent comme des facteurs clés dans l'explication de l'augmentation des inondations. Cependant, les facteurs anthropiques doivent également être considérés comme des facteurs d'aggravation des inondations, bien que leurs impacts demeurent encore difficiles à mesurer.

Introduction

Recently, we have seen in Canada a growing number of studies dealing with climatic change and its impact on the hydrologic regime (Leith and Whitfield 1998, Yulianti and Burn 1998, Southam *et al*. 1999, Mortsch *et al*. 2000, Muzik 2001, Whitfield 2001). Several of these studies aim at determining the impact of climatic change on hydrologic phenomena by using climatic models. Based on the models used, some areas will see decreased precipitation, which would affect river flow and lake water levels (Leith and Whitfield 1998, Yulianti and Burn 1998, Southam *et al*. 1999, Mortsch *et al*. 2000), while other areas will experience increased precipitation, which could have a marked effect on flood frequency (Shrubsole *et al*. 1993, Akinremi *et al*. 1999, Mortsch *et al*. 2000, Muzik 2001). In fact, these different studies show that the anticipated climate changes will result in varied environmental responses depending on the areas involved, which is why it is important to deal with the issue of global change on a local or regional scale in order to better understand the impact of these changes on river systems. In the context of these different studies, we found it useful to reconstruct for the Saint-François Basin the flood events and precipitation and hydrologic variations on a long scale, i.e. over the last

century. The first part of this study mainly deals with the historical and chronological reconstruction of flood events, while the second part deals with the link between the flood events and climatic (precipitation) and hydrologic variations (discharge) on a secular scale. The hydrographic area includes the catchments in the Saint-François Basin and Sub-basins, which contain a number of rivers, several of which are subject to high water levels and flooding.

Location of study area

The study area is located in southern Québec and extends from the south shore of the Saint-Laurent River to northern Vermont in the United States (Figure 1). This drainage basin has an average altitude ranging from 304 m to 762 m, with the higher altitudes located on the American side (Adirondack Mountains). The Saint-Laurent Lowlands and the Appalachian Mountains are the two major phys-

Figure 1. Location of study area with major rivers and gauging stations

iographic divisions that characterize this large drainage basin. There are major variations in the relief of this area from the head of the basin to its outlet. Upstream from the basin, the relief is characterized by mountains, hills and valleys dominated by vast wooded areas, while in the downstream part of the basin there are large plane surfaces mainly dominated by farmland (crops and animal breeding) and urban areas. The basin has a total surface of 10 221 km^2, with the Saint-François River as its main waterway. Our study conducted on the physical and hydrographic characteristics (Saint-Laurent *et al*. 2001) reveals that the middle of the basin serves as a point of convergence for several major tributaries, including the Magog, Massawippi, and Eaton rivers, which feed into the Saint-François. In all likelihood, these rivers considerably modify the hydrological balance of the Saint-François River during freshets or extremely high water levels. The Magog River, for example, which junctures with the Saint-François River in Sherbrooke, adds a considerable volume of water to the Saint-François during flood periods, thereby increasing the risk of flooding in this region (see also Jones, 1999).

Methods

The historical reconstruction of flood events in the study area was done using data obtained from different sources (e.g. government reports, regional monographs). An initial reconstruction of the flood events was compiled using flood records and other documents provided by the Ministère de la Sécurité civile (DRMC) basically covering the period from 1964 to 1998 (Saint-Laurent *et al*. 2001). Flood events prior to 1964 were reconstructed using different documents, including reports from the Quebec Streams Commission (1912–1952), a review of various local newspapers indexed by the Société d'histoire de Sherbrooke, as well as regional monographs and published papers (Jones 1999, 2002, 2004; Saint-Laurent and Saucet, 2003). Local newspapers and government archives proved to be an important source of information for identifying flood events. In fact, this type of document source was often used in other studies for historically reconstructing flood data (Shrubsole *et al*. 1993, Jones 1999; Barriendos *et al*., 2003).

In order to evaluate the precipitation variations recorded for the past century in the study area, rainfall and snow data were analyzed based on Environment Canada's historical climatic data (HACDC 2004). Six stations were selected: Bell Falls, Disraëli, Drummondville, Lambton, Lennoxville and Sherbrooke (Table 1). The precipitation data (rainfall and snow) were compiled to repre-

sent the climatic anomalies, based on the 1971–2000 climatic reference period (Environment Canada 2001). The gauging stations were selected based on the most complete and long-duration hydrological series (Table 1). The hydrologic variables selected for the study

Table 1 – Hydrometeorological stations used for compilation and data analysis

Meteorological station[1]	Number	Location	Altitude (m)	Precipitation (mm)
Bell Falls	7030640	45° 46′ N–74° 41′ W	122	1932–1994*
Disraëli	7022000	45° 55′ N–71° 24′ W	350	1908–1991*
Drummondville	7022160	45° 53′ N–72° 29′ W	82	1914–2003*
Lambton	7024000	45° 50′ N–71° 05′ W	366	1916–1994*
Lennoxville	7024280	45° 22′ N–71° 49′ W	181	1915–2003*
Sherbrooke	7028124	45° 26′ N–71° 41′ W	241	1904–2003*
Gauging station[2]	**Number**	**Location**	**Basin area (km²)**	**Period observed**
Saint-François River	02OE001	45° 56′ N–71° 16′ W	1 230	1968–1997
Magog river				
Sherbrooke Centrale	02OE006	45° 24′ N–71° 53′ W	2 020	1919–1994
Saint-François River				
Westbury Centrale	02OE007	45° 29′ N–71° 37′ W	3 330	1929–1987
Au Saumon River	02OE016	45° 37′ N–71° 23′ W	839	1938–1977*
Saint-François River				
Weedon Centrale	02OE017	45° 39′ N–71° 27′ W	2 930	1939–1987
Massawippi River	02OE019	45° 17′ N–71° 57′ W	619	1952–1997
Coaticook River	02OE022	45° 17′ N–71° 53′ W	521	1959–1997*
Saint-François Reservoir	02OE024	45° 56′ N–71° 16′ W	1 200	1919–1977*
Eaton River	02OE026	45°28′ N–71° 39′ W	642	1932–1945*
	02OE027			1953–1997*
Au Saumon River	02OE032	45° 34′ N–71° 23′ W	738	1974–1996*
Eaton River	02OE033	45° 20′ N–71° 34′ W	197	1966–1982*
Saint-François River	02OE062	45° 39′ N–71° 28′ W	2930	1979–1997
Saint-François River Richmond	02OF001	45° 39′ N–72° 08′ W	9 170	1915–1965*
Saint-François River Hemmings Falls	02OF002	45° 51′ N–72° 27′ W	9 610	1925–1994 and 1995–2003
Saint-François River Windsor	02OF004	45° 33′ N–72° 00′ W	8680	1935–1973*

Sources: Environment Canada 2004, [1]AHCCD: [2]HYDAT 2002 and MEQ (CEHQ) 2004
(note: asterisk (*) indicates some years or months are incomplete).

include the annual mean flow, the monthly mean flow, and the annual maximum daily flow. The data was obtained from Environment Canada's recently updated data bank (HYDAT CD-Rom, 2002). The gauging stations retained for the study are located along the Saint-François River (stations 02OE007, 02OE024, 02OF001, 02OF002, 02OF004), Magog (02OE006), and Eaton rivers (02OE027). Station 02OF002 covers the longest observation period, while the other stations provide data for periods spanning more than 30 years (Table 1). The most recent hydrological data (post 1994) for the same gauging stations were supplemented with data from the Québec environment ministry's Centre d'expertise hydrique (CEHQ).

Results

Historical flood records and frequency

The inventory of flood events covers the period from 1865 to 2005 for the entire study area (Figure 2). The flood events were compiled for each event inventoried in the documents consulted, while also taking into account annual and seasonal flood frequencies. For instance, the years 1900, 1928, 1938, 1940, 1990, 1996 and 1998 included more than one flood per year (see Table 2). The past century has seen an increase in the number of floods, especially since the 1970s. The period spanning 1970 to 1990, in particular, wit-

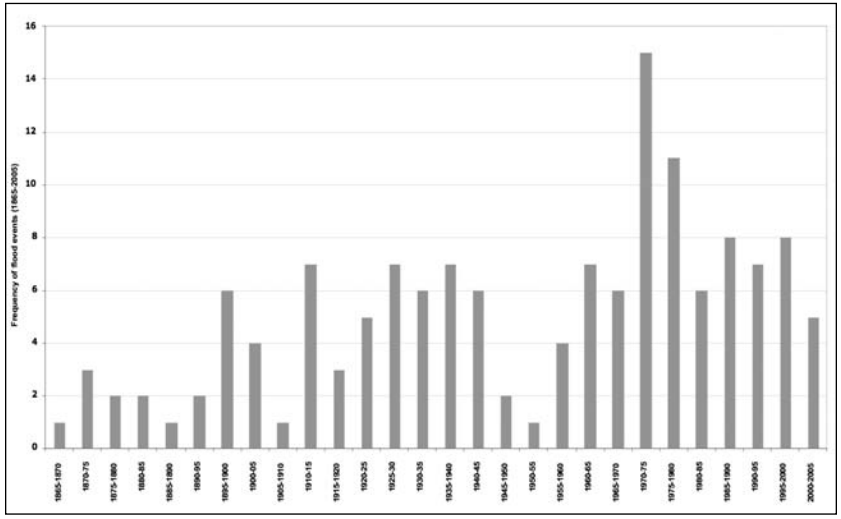

Figure 2
Histogram showing the historical flood record for 1865–2005 in the study area. The figure includes total flooding for each year (see also Table 2).

Table 2 – Date of flood events by years and months				
1865-May-11	1916-Jul-16-17	1943-Jun-15-17	1973-Jul-02-04	1986-Mar-26-27
1874-Jan-16	1918-Apr-03-04	1944-Apr-26?	1973-Dec-27-29	1989-Mar-15-16
1874-Jun-17-19	1919-Mar-22-30	1945-Mar-20	1974-Jan-29-30	1989-Mar-28-31
1875-Spring-?	1921-Mar-10	1947-Avr-13-14	1974-Mar-08-09	1990-Mar-18-20
1876-May-12-19	1922-Jun-19-21	1948-Mar-19-22	1974-Apr-04-05	1990-Oct-19-25
1879-Apr-27-May- 02	1924-Sep-08-11	1949-Mar-23-24	1974-Apr-30-May-02	1990-Dec-22-31
1883-Apr-19	1925-Sep-11	1954-Apr-17	1975-Apr-19-20	1991-Mar-06
1885-Apr-28	1927-Nov-03-05	1959-Jun-28-30	1976-Mar-26-Apr-03	1991-Apr-09-10
1887-Apr-22-May-05	1928-Jan-10	1960-Apr-1-20	1976-Jun-22?	1992-Mar-10-13
1892-Apr-08	1928-Mar-14-15	1961-Jul-21-22	1976-Aug-11-18	1992-Apr-23
1894-Apr-27-28	1928-Apr-07-09	1962-Mar-30-Apr-02	1976-Dec-03 et 23	1993-Apr-11-13
1896-Mar-06	1928-May-26	1962-Apr-30-May-01	1977-Mar-15-17	1994-Apr-17-18
1897-May-5	1929-Apr-09-10	1963-Mar-27-28	1978-Apr-13	1995-Jan-16-18
1898-Mar-14-16	1930-Jan-08-09	1963-Aug-23	1978-Apr-21-24	1996-Jan-17-25
1900-Mar-30	1931-Apr-25	1964-Mar-05-06	1979-Jan-01-05	1996-Feb-26
1900-Apr-18-19	1932-Jul-08?	1964-Apr-15-16	1979-Mar-05-08	1996-Aug-09
1900-Oct-10-11	1933-Apr-16-19	1966-Aug-08	1979-Jun-01	1997-Feb-16
1901-Apr-18	1933-Aug-24-26	1967-Apr-03-04	1980-Mar-17	1998-Jan-02
1901-Jun-27	1934-Apr-11-13	1967-Aug-10-11	1981-Feb-22-25	1998-Mar-29-Apr-04
1902-Mar-01-03	1935-Jan-10-11	1968-Mar-24-26	1982-Apr-17-20	1999-Jan-25
1903-Mar-?	1936-Mar-13-19	1969-Apr-11-20	1983-Feb-17	1999-Aug-09
1910-Mar-02-03	1938-Mar-23-24	1970-Apr-18-25	1983-Mar-19-21	2000-Feb-27-29
1911-Apr-14-15	1939-Apr-22-25	1971-May-06	1983-Sep-17	2003-Mar-28
1912-Apr-08-18	1940-May-01-03	1971-Aug-30	1983-Dec-07-22	2003-Oct-30
1912- May-28-Jun-1	1940-Jun-03-04?	1972-May-05-09	1985-Feb-22-26	2004-Aug-29-Sep-02
1913-Mar-23-28	1941-Avr-15-17	1972-Jul-16-17	1986-Jan-27-29	2005-Apr-04-08
1914-Apr-19-21	1942-Avr-26?	1972-Aug-08-10	1986-Mar-26-31	2005-Oct-16-19
1915-Feb-24-26	1942-Jun-14-16	1973-Mar-17-18	1987-Apr-01	

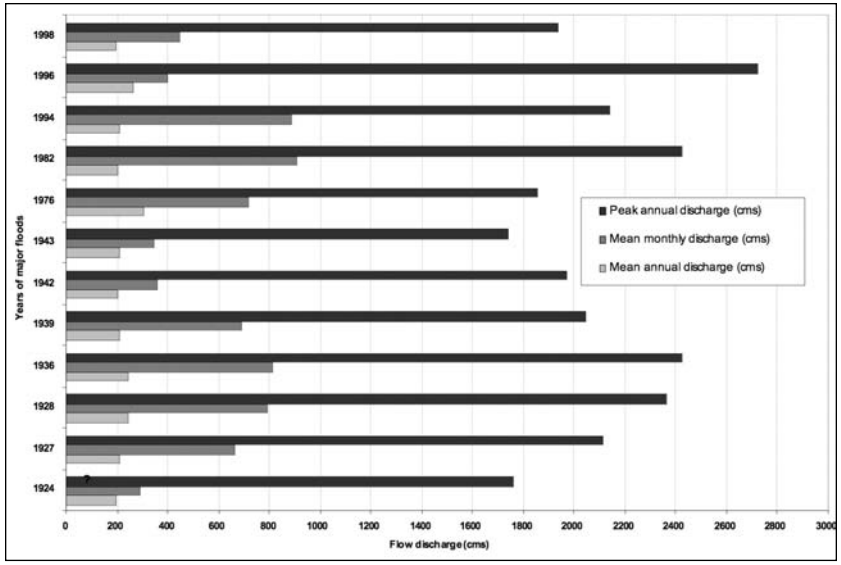

Figure 3

Histogram showing major floods, mean annual and monthly discharges and peak annual discharge at the Saint-François River for 1904–2004 (gauging stations: 02OF001 and 02OF002).

nessed a considerable number of flood events. In fact, there was practically one flood a year during the 20-year time-span. There was a slight decrease in flood frequency after this period. However, to determine whether the trend continues, a longer series would be required spanning at least another decade.

The increase in flooding since the start of the century was also noted in nationwide studies conducted by Tucker (2000), who found a notable increase in floods since the early 20th century, i.e. twice the frequency since 1970. As Tucker notes, "A number of factors may explain this trend: the occurrence of more extreme events, an increase in disasters proportional to the increase in population, better reporting of events in more recent years and/or increased concentration of population and wealth in vulnerable area" (Tucker 2000, p. 78). One could argue that all these factors could occur concomitantly, in which case it would be useful to attempt to determine which of them plays a predominant role in the occurrence of flooding while taking into account the climatic and anthropogenic changes in the study area.

Major flood events

Based on the reports of the Quebec Streams Commission (1912–1952) as well as local newspapers, we were able to determine the most disastrous years in terms of the municipalities affected by flooding. The years 1924, 1927, 1928, 1936, 1939, 1942, 1943, 1976, 1982, 1994, 1996 and 1998 (Figure 3) were the worst flood years in the Saint-François Basin. In many cases, the floods occurred in the spring, but there was also flooding at other times of the year, i.e. in the summer (June 16, 1942 and June 17, 1943) and fall (November 3–5, 1927). Among the above flood events, one of the worst cases recorded in the last century occurred in the spring of 1982, leading to the overflowing of several rivers, including the Saint-François, Massawippi, Magog, Coaticook, Saumon and Ascot, and impacting several municipalities located along these rivers. This severe flood appears to have been caused both by exceptional rain which occurred on April 17th and 18th and by the rapid melting of a substantial snow cover assessed at 50–200 mm above the median for mid-April (Hoang 1982; see also Jones 2004). The 1942 and 1943 floods are similar in severity to the 1982 flood, and also resulted in the overflowing of several rivers and substantial material damage. 1865 and 1892 were also disastrous years for southern Québec in terms of flood damage (Watt *et al*. 1990, p. 19). There were also human fatalities associated with these flood events.

Variability of precipitation (1904–2004)

The analysis of the distribution of the total mean annual precipitation in the study area shows considerable variability in the distribution of precipitation over more than one century. This observation is in fact made in several studies on precipitation in Canada (Findlay *et al*. 1994, Mortsch *et al*. 2000). In this respect, the latter two authors mention that the variability observed in relation to precipitation makes it difficult to detect any data distribution trends. Precipitation would seem to be a more variable parameter over time than temperature data, for instance. With respect to our study area more specifically, the detailed analysis of total mean annual precipitation data (precipitation anomalies) also shows a major variation in precipitation. However, it is possible to detect certain upward or downward precipitation trends from 1904–2004. Rainy years occurred from 1932 to 1954 and from 1971 to 1983, while the period 1956–1966 is characterized by years with less rain (Figure 4). A rainier period can also be noted early in the last century (1904–1912) for the Sherbrooke station, which is followed by a less

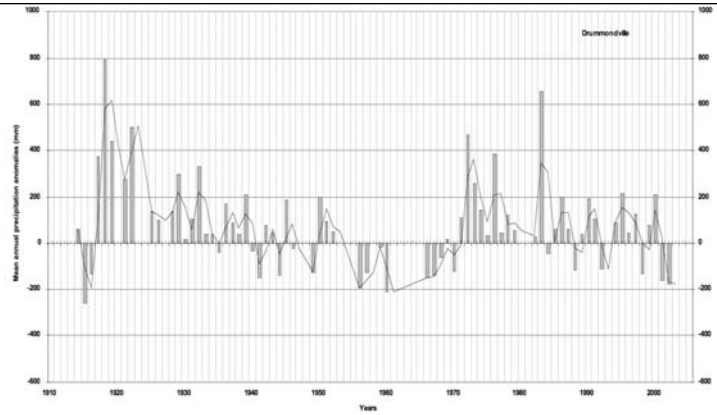

Diagram of mean annual total precipitation at the Drummondville station

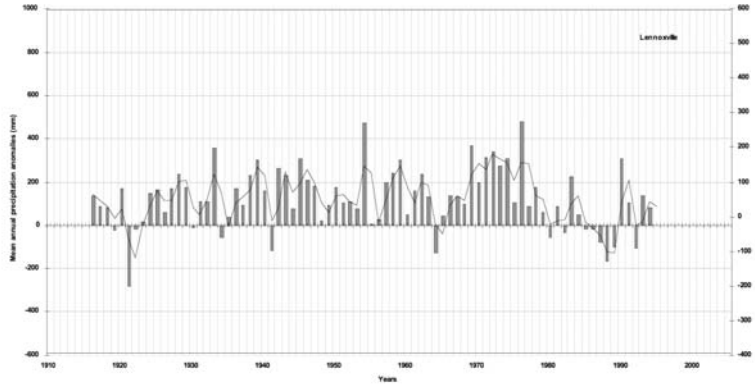

Diagram of mean annual total precipitation at the Lennoxville station

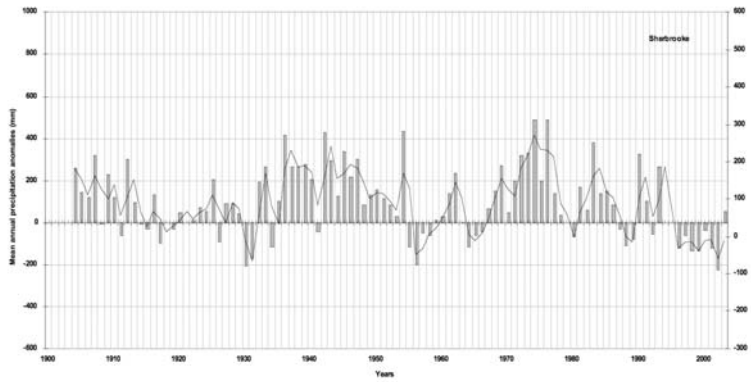

Diagram of mean annual total precipitation at the Sherbrooke station

Figure 4

Table 3 – Standard deviation of total mean annual precipitation for identification of highest and lowest years (period 1904–1994)

Stations	Number	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Min	Max
BEF	7030640	44	1136.2	149.9	833.9	1452.7
DIS	7022000	68	1256.4	171.3	865.2	1636.8
DRU	7022160	67	1214.4	199.9	867.5	1919.4
LAM	7024000	59	1204.8	182.1	804.1	1643.2
LEN	7024280	79	1162.9	141.4	758.7	1520.5
SHE	7028124	88	1259.6	161.1	940.4	1636.6

Note: All stations have missing data; source: Environment Canada (2004).

rainy period from 1917 to 1919. At the Drummondville station, the period 1917–1919 is instead characterized by a significant increase in precipitation (Figure 4). These differences are likely due to the fact that atmospheric conditions differ substantially between the St. Lawrence Plain, where the Drummondville station is located, and the Appalachian Foothills, where the Sherbrooke station is found. A study conducted in the south central part of Québec in fact shows major variations in precipitation between the St. Lawrence Lowlands and the Appalachian Foothills (Siew-Yan-Yu *et al*. 1998).

Figure 5 shows, for all the stations studied (i.e. Bell Falls, Disraëli,

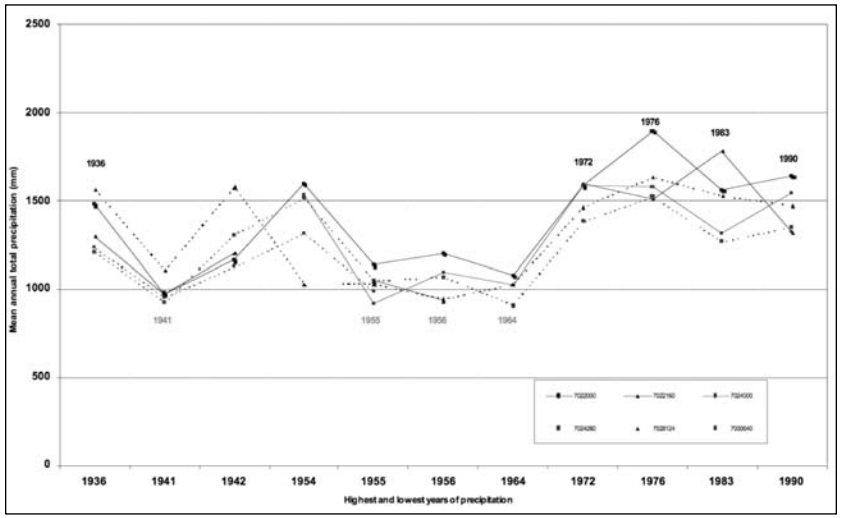

Figure 5

Diagram of mean annual total precipitation with the highest and lowest years of precipitation (Stations 7030640, 7022000, 7022160, 7024000, 7024280, 7025440, 7028124)

(Notes: In this case, the highest years of precipitation represent more than 1200 mm/yr and the lowest less than 1200 mm/yr. Some precipitation data after 1994 are not available for the study area.)

Drummondville, Lambton, Lennoxville and Sherbrooke), variations in the precipitation over the last century (see also Table 3). It can be noted that the rainiest years (more than 1200 mm/yr) were 1936, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1983 and 1990. A flood event was recorded for all of these years. The years 1974 and 1976, in particular, are two years with heavy flooding that affected several riverside municipalities. Several floods in fact occurred in 1976 that affected a number of municipalities. Although records indicate that 1982 was one of the worst flood years in the last century, the weather stations did not show it to be an especially rainy year. For instance, the total mean annual precipitation recorded at Lennoxville in 1982 was 1006.3 mm, while the mean annual volume over the last 30 years was 1039.7 (Environment Canada 2001). It should be noted, however, that on April 17 and 18, 1982, exceptional rain occurred, followed by rapid melting of the thick snow cover, which led to major flooding in the entire Saint-François River Basin (Hoang 1982; see also Jones 2004). For this major flood event, the daily rainfall rates provide a better explanation for the flooding than the annual mean volume, which is why it is important to study flood phenomena at different analytical levels. In fact, extreme events related to heavy rain, for instance, are not always evident in annual or monthly means. This is the case for 1942, 1943 and 1982, years characterized by catastrophic flooding. Lastly, with respect to the years that show a certain shortfall in annual precipitation (less than 1200 mm/yr), there are four such years, i.e. 1941, 1955, 1956 and 1964. For these years, no flood events were recorded in the study area, except for 1964, which was marked by spring flooding in March and April in different areas.

Link between major flood events and hydrological data

The investigation of flooding requires that one considers both climatic and anthropogenic factors that impact river flow variations in different ways (Costa and O'Connor 1995). The parameter most often used to measure river flow variations is the discharge (cubic metres per second or cms) recorded at different gauging stations located throughout the watershed under study. Variations in river flow discharge are in fact the catchment's response to the conditions generated by the climate and the impact of various human activities (e.g. intensive deforestation, riverbank development). In this context, it would be useful to investigate discharge variations over an extended period of time in order to detect major trends in river flow variations over the entire watershed. As a first step, the

mean annual discharge values of the different rivers located in the study area have been analysed. Note that discharge variations are relatively substantial over the last century (Figure 6). Meanwhile, an increase in river flow discharge is evident, especially after the 1970s, and particularly between 1970 and 1990, preceded by a decrease in flow around 1964 and another decrease after 1996. These upward and downward variations were in fact noted at all the stations investigated. For instance, a slight increase in discharge is observed from 1969 to 1976 (Figure 6), especially at stations 02OE007 and 02OF002 (Saint-François River) and 02OE027 (Eaton River). The years 1974, 1976 and 1996 have the highest discharge at stations 02OE007, 02OE027 and 02OF002, and 1936, 1954, and 1969 are years marked by high discharge at almost all the stations. In short, there are peaks of high discharge in 1928, 1936, 1954, 1969, 1974, 1976, 1983, and 1996 (Figure 6). Furthermore, there are also years marked by a decrease in the mean annual discharge, particularly 1931, 1941, 1948, 1949, 1964, 1980 and 1988. These decreases in the mean annual discharge are found at most of the stations (02OE006, 02OE007, 02OE027 and 02OF002). Lastly, though there is a relative increase in the mean annual discharge during the period of 1974–1994, there appears to be a downward trend after 1996 (station 02OE027). However, additional data covering the next few decades (post 2000–2020) could help determine whether the trend continues.

Figure 7 shows the peak discharge for the stations analyzed over nearly a century. The variations in the peak discharge are generally very similar to the variations in the mean annual discharge. The years 1928, 1936, 1942, 1974, 1976, 1994 and 1996, which are characterized by the highest peak discharge, are thus easily located on the mean annual discharge graph, particularly 1928, 1936, 1976 and 1996 (Figure 6). The decrease in discharge recorded around 1964 is also clearly visible in Figure 7. Furthermore, the years marked by high discharge are generally years with considerable rainfall. This is the case for 1936, 1974 and 1976. The peak discharge recorded for rivers is a more or less rapid response to extreme events that occurred in terms of the watershed, such as heavy rainfall or extensive abundant rainfall. In the analysis of the flood events, it was important to study the close relationship between the peak discharge recorded in the study area and the major floods recorded in the different documents consulted. For this example, the longest record discharge data (station 02OF002) was used. By examining the two sets of data (flood and peak discharge), one sees

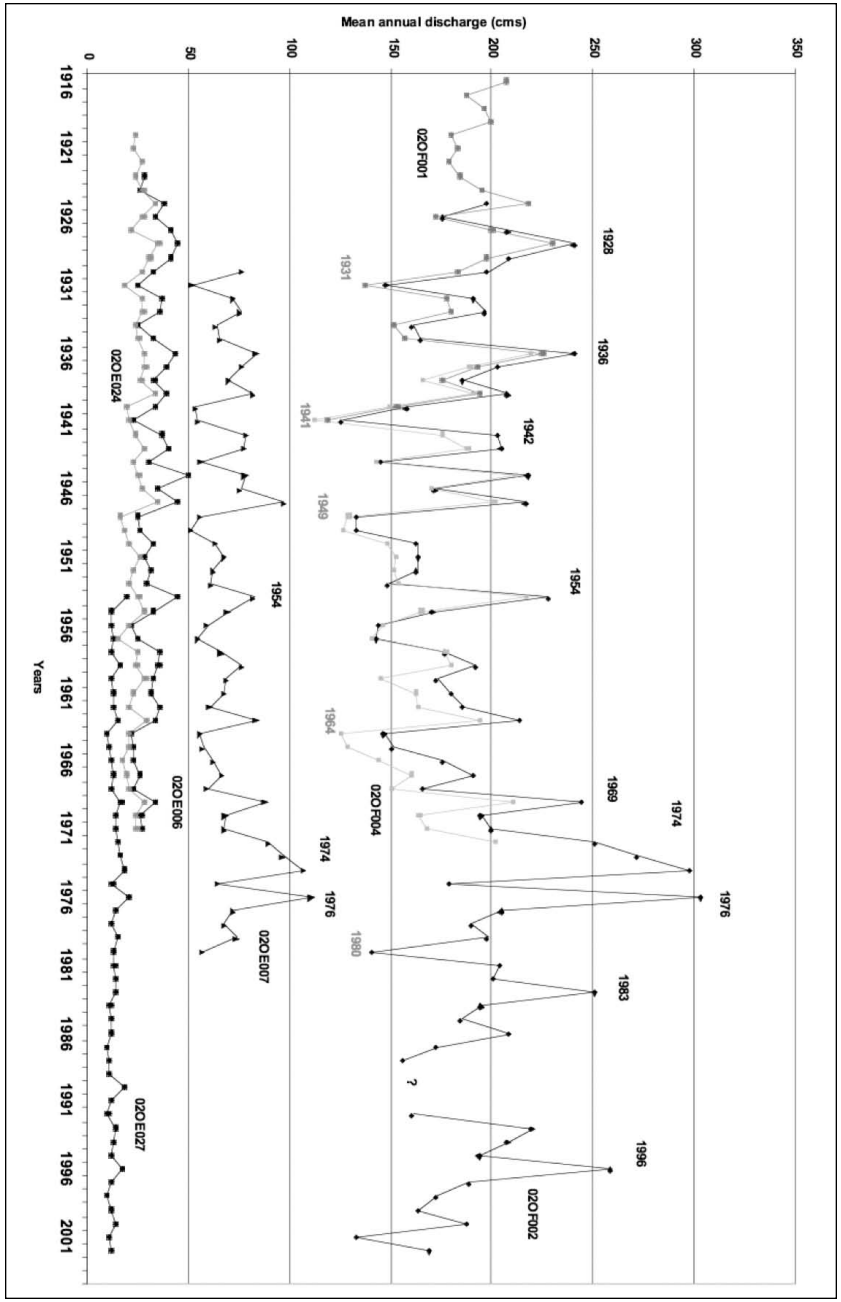

Figure 6.
Diagram of mean annual discharge at different stations (gauging stations: 02OE006, 02OE007, 02OE024, 02OE027, 02OF001, 02OF002 and 02OF004)
(Sources: Environment Canada, HYDAT CD-Rom, 2002; MDDEP, CEHQ, 2004)

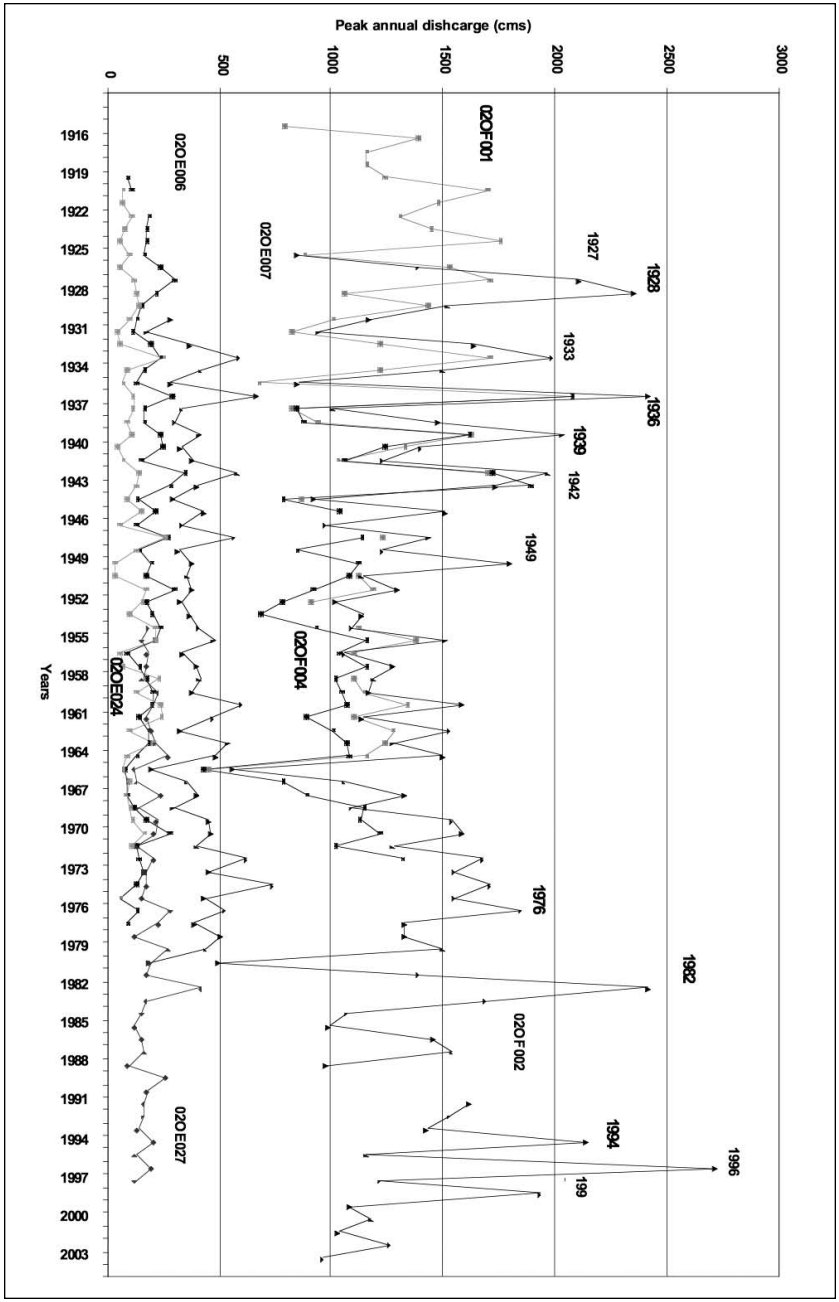

Figure 7
Diagram of peak annual discharge at different stations
(gauging stations: 02OE006, 02OE007, 02OE024, 02OE027, 02OF001, 02OF002 and 02OF004)
(Sources: Environment Canada, HYDAT CD-Rom, 2002; MDDEP, CEHQ, 2004).

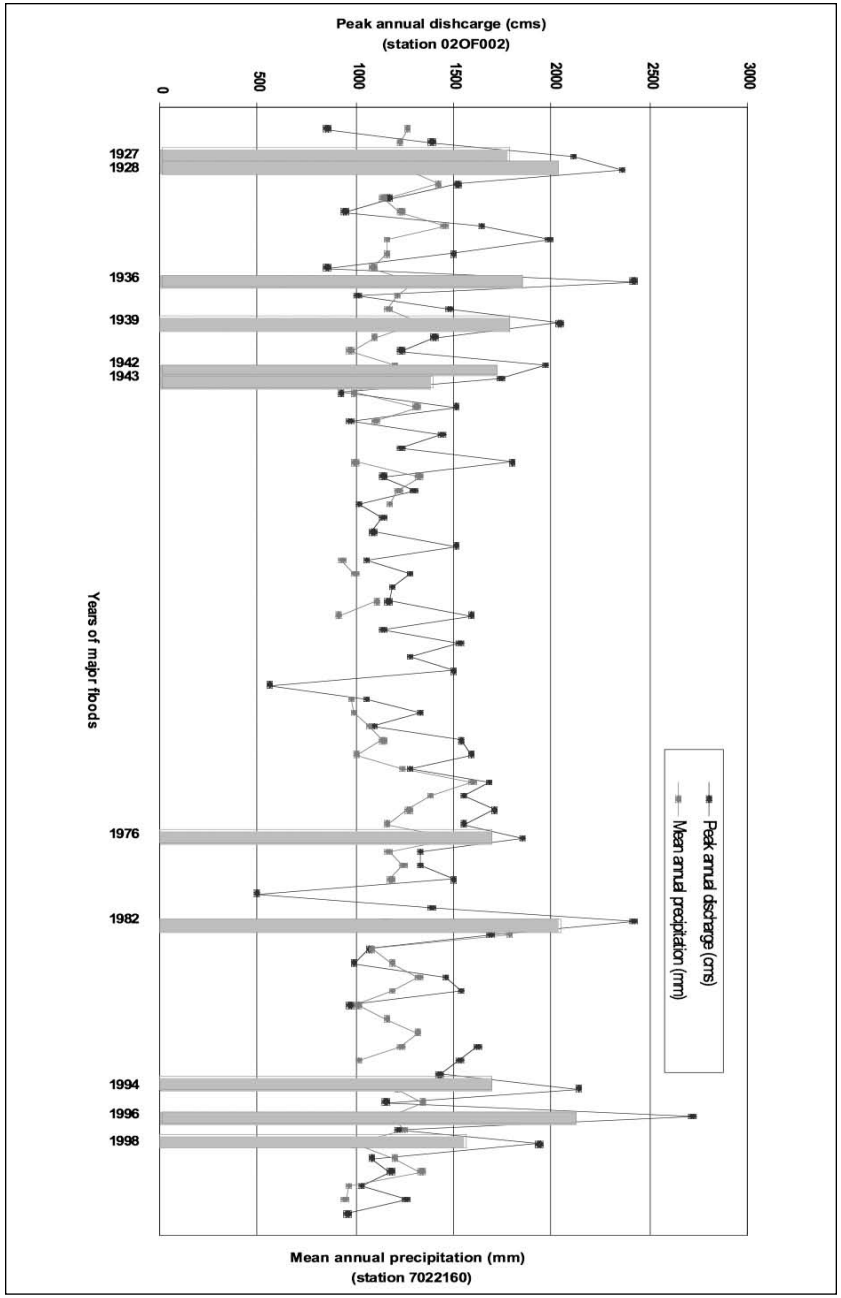

Figure 8
Diagram of peak annual discharge with years of major flood event recorded (gauging station 02OF002 and meteorological station 7022160. (Source: Environment Canada, HYDAT CD-Rom, 2002)

that the peak discharge generally corresponds to the major floods mentioned in the literature. This is the case for the years 1927, 1928, 1936, 1939, 1942, 1943, 1976, 1982, 1994, 1996 and 1998 (Figure 8). The year 1982 is considered as the worst flood event of the last century and this is clearly displayed on the graph (Figure 8). Also, it is interesting to note that the spreads between the monthly and annual discharge values and those of the peak discharge values are very significant when compared together (Figures 3 and 7). In some cases, the peak discharge values are 7 to 9 times greater than the values usually recorded in the same year. For instance, in 1927, the peak discharge recorded was 2110 m^3/sec, which is 9 times greater than the value recorded during the year. This is in fact comparable to several of the discharge values recorded in the various gauging stations. At this level of analysis, the peak discharge values thus appear as a parameter that is highly correlated with major flood events.

Finally, the first half of the last century, especially from 1924 to 1944 (Figures 2 and 7), is characterized by a long period of peak discharge which is also found in the recurrence of flood events, and the same holds true for the late 20th century, which is also characterized by years of peak discharge coupled with years of major flooding. Furthermore, the 1950s and 1960s saw a significant drop in river flow, which leads to a decrease in flooding recurrence.

Conclusion

This study mainly deals with flood records (1865 to 2005) identified using various sources (e.g. government reports, regional monographs). The other part of the study investigated the links between flood events recorded in the literature and climatic data (precipitation) and hydrologic data (discharge). It can be noted that the flood rate has been on the rise since the 1970s, especially from 1970 to 1990. There appears to be a certain decrease in the flood frequency after this period. Several of the years identified as major flood years (e.g. 1942, 1943 and 1982), are years associated with peak discharge, and the years associated with other more minor flood events also appear in the mean annual discharge and peak discharge graphs, but are less significant. Furthermore, several of the years characterized by considerable rainfall are generally associated with heavy discharge. In fact, the fluctuations noted in terms of the rainfall and hydrological data follow roughly the same trends, which can also be found in flood frequency variations. For instance, the period in the last century with the lowest rainfall, i.e. 1955 to 1957, also corre-

sponded to years with low streamflow characterized by a decrease in flood frequency. Lastly, in light of current data, it would appear difficult to establish a correlation between the frequency of flooding since the early 1900s and recent climatic changes. Additional and more complete data covering the next decades (post 2000–2020) will be required to measure the actual impact of climatic variations on flooding frequency.

Acknowledgements

The part of this research was supported by a grant from the NSERC (Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada) and support by research grant (FIR-UQTR) from Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières. The author thanks gratefully the support by these contributors. The author thanks also the editor and reviewer for their valuable comments and suggestions. In addition, thanks are extended to the Ministry of Civil Security of Québec (MCSQ) for the consultation of data, Hydro-Québec Society and the grateful help of History Society of Sherbrooke.

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NOTES ON NINETEENTH CENTURY TOURISM ON LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG, 1850–1899

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ABSTRACT

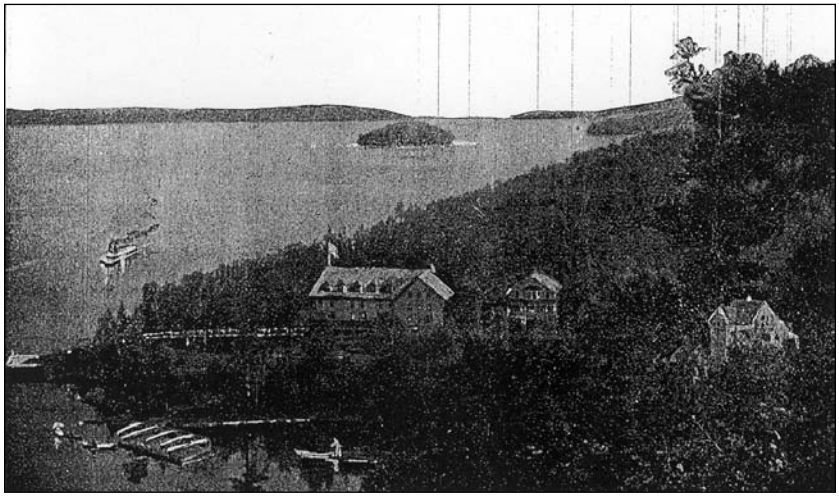
Nineteenth century tourism on Lake Memphremagog – situated in the Eastern Townships of Québec astride the Canadian/American border – was predominately American. Environmental and social circumstances isolated the region from the rest of Lower Canada and oriented it within an American sphere of influence. Through an analysis of tourist literature, it is argued that Lake Memphremagog's tourism was both reflective and constitutive of overwhelming economic, technological and socio-political transformations in the United States. Synthesizing these factors with the region's physical landscape, tourism on the lake provided a culturally and ideologically meaningful experience that people could embrace as a positive consequence of tremendous upheaval.

RÉSUMÉ

Au dix-neuvième siècle, le tourisme sur le lac Memphrémagog – situé dans les Cantons-de-l'Est du Québec, à cheval sur la frontière canado-américaine – provenait principalement des États-Unis. Des particularités sociales et environnementales avaient isolé la région du reste du Bas-Canada et l'avaient orientée vers une sphère d'influence américaine. Par une analyse de la documentation écrite sur le tourisme, le texte montre que l'activité touristique sur le lac Memphrémagog était à la fois le reflet et la composante d'importantes transformations économiques, technologiques et sociopolitiques aux États-Unis. En ajoutant à ces facteurs le paysage physique de la région, l'activité touristique sur le lac offrait une expérience culturelle et idéologique significative que les gens vivaient comme une conséquence positive d'un formidable bouleversement.

On October 11, 1899, a pot of tar left heating on a stove started a fire that completely destroyed the Mountain House hotel situated at the base of Owl's Head Mountain, on the western shore of Lake Memphremagog, in the Eastern Townships of Québec. The building's timbers and framed walls, sawn, ironically, from the very trees that hotel guests had escaped their workaday lives to enjoy, burned with alarming efficiency. As the *Stanstead Journal* reported, " the hotel … with annex … burnt to the ground in about an hour … The boat house, dance hall, etc … are still left but they present a lonesome appearance."[1] The hotel was never rebuilt; in many respects, its demise signaled the end of a specific era of tourism on the Lake that began in the mid-nineteenth century. This paper – as part of a larger research project that chronicles the advent and changing nature of tourism on Lake Memphremagog primarily through an investigation of American and Canadian travel literature – considers pertinent tourism historiography when contemplating the Lake Memphremagog region and introduces a new framework in which to consider the growth of tourism in the region during the second half of the nineteenth century.[2]

This paper poses and answers the questions: *who traveled to Lake Memphremagog in the second half of the nineteenth century, and why did they do so*? With due respect for the complexity of individual human



Owl's Head Lake Memphremagog
Newport, Vt. Owl's Head Hotel Co., ca 1890
This image of the Mountain House Hotel at the base of Owl's Head Mountain on Lake Memphremagog appears in the 1890s, during the last decade of its existence. It epitomizes the culmination of physical landscape, technological and market change, and recreation – all central to the new liberal-oriented, middle class tourist experience in the region during the second half of the nineteenth century.

choice – there are potentially numerous reasons why people chose this given tourist destination – it is suggested that sufficient evidence exists to offer a coherent (and multifaceted) answer to these questions. Indeed, the advent of tourism on Lake Memphremagog must be interrogated as both reflective and constitutive of broad-pattern changes in humans' (primarily Americans') interaction, simultaneously, with each other and with the surrounding physical environment.

Historians, in general, agree that the very idea of moving from one place (usually home) to another (a temporary destination) holds different meaning for different societies over time. Eric Leed notes how travel as necessity gave way to travel as pilgrimage, then to travel as an indication of freedom, as constructed in a modern liberal, market-driven society.[3] Leed's account, however, does not conclusively grapple with the critical distinction between tourism and its cognate term, travel – one of the most challenging aspects of historiography in the field. For Boorstin, tourism entails a search for pseudo-events, distinct from reality, whereas travel (and the traveler) assumes a quest for true experience. Tourist, then, describes one who arrives with preconceived notions about her experience, apparently with little regard for the day-to-day realities of life in the given destination.[4] On the other hand, Dean MacCannell argues that the tourist actually desires to find authenticity in the travel experience and that this search is a defining component in today's modern society.[5]

Historically, "traveler" has been associated with pre-nineteenth century excursions. Into the nineteenth century, the differentiation between the traveler and the tourist became problematic as upper class and middle class individuals accused one another of being tourists – a pejorative term, associated with superficial experience. Yet, it is important to note, as Ian McKay does through his investigation of the creation of the idealized "folk" of Nova Scotia, that searching for some presumably "true" experience, or essence, is contingent.[6] For, this "true" experience is relative to cultural conventions and there is no absolute assurance that a "true" experience even exists. Regardless, for the purposes of this essay, "tourist" implies all individuals traveling to the Lake Memphremagog region for specific recreational purposes.

What all these tourists have in common is what sociologist John Urry calls the "tourist gaze."[7] By Urry's reckoning, the tourist assumes a particular subject viewing position, which, in turn, derives from her own cultural values. The tourist gaze connects with Peter

Burke's discussion of "eyewitnessing," wherein he emphasizes the fact that all images (including the visual representations of nature central to the discussion of this essay) are created deliberately, for a specific purpose, and that such images must be placed in context with regard to society's socio-cultural and political realities.[8] The perceiving subject, in this case a tourist, brings historically relative ways of viewing images that are themselves conditioned by wider socio-cultural and environmental determinants. The tourist experience is thus an amalgam of contingently created images, construed according to contingent forms of seeing. Moreover, applying these ideas to tourism helps one contemplate the trend as a subset of the encompassing social phenomenon, consumption, which is often associated with tactile, material objects. Pierre Bourdieu describes consumption as:

> [A] process of communication, that is, an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher or code. In a sense … to see (voir) is a function of the knowledge (savoir) … A work of art has meaning only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded.[9]

Indeed, although nature (specific manifestations of physical landscapes) in tourism is not used up in the consumption process, it is nevertheless the "product" around which the conventions of class distinction are mediated.

Several historians who focus on tourism, travel, and natural environments employ implicit references to these theoretically oriented considerations of tourism. For instance, Alan MacEachern, Roderick Nash and Richard Sellars explore how environmental factors and specific conceptual views of nature dominate tourist ideology and are at the core of the creation of several North American national parks.[10] Timothy Todd Bawden, Orvar Lofgren, Piers Brendon, and Patricia Jasen, also discuss the growth of tourism and of specific tourist ideologies and industries as cause and consequence of certain social and cultural realities.[11] Bawden, through the growth of the "back to nature" movement, emphasizes the wider social context as crucial in the development of tourism in Wisconsin during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Lofgren views tourism, institutionalized from the late eighteenth century onward, as a site of cultural production. Brendon credits Englishman, Thomas Cook, with the creation of the European conception of tourism for those not within the elite class. Jasen illustrates how

romanticism helped forge a tourist industry around Niagara Falls. Moreover, Cindy S. Aron concludes that tourism plays a role in molding American culture while raising social anxieties about the tourist experience that reflect wider social and cultural values.[12] Scott C. Martin views leisure in southwestern Pennsylvania as a site of cultural construction where ideas about ethnicity, class and gender developed and functioned as a "cultural palliative for and response to the pressures generated by their changing and industrializing society."[13]

Finally, several scholars focus specifically on tourism in nineteenth century northeastern United States. Kenneth John Myers, exploring tourism in the Catskill Mountains, emphasizes the requirement of both objectification and commodification of the natural world for tourism to function in the area.[14] Thomas A. Chambers surveys tourism at mineral springs in New York and Virginia and the class issues these tourist areas create.[15] John F. Sears highlights the role of tourism in creating American culture, wherein technological change (reliable transportation) and cultural intermediaries help confer certain values on the surrounding landscapes.[16] Dona Brown, focusing on New England, stresses economic and technological alterations in American society that helped shape tourism as a commodity for sale.[17] These investigations support the inquiry into how tourism on Lake Memphremagog reflects and helps construct the society in which it is found. Specifically, tourism – the particular experience, the physical landscapes, and the set of entailed activities and emotions depicted in the travel literature for the Lake Memphremagog region – became a commodity in that market system which sold its image to financially and culturally designated groups.

Tourism is not a homogenous phenomenon. More often than not, North American tourism, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, is viewed as a reaction against the industrial revolution, which inspired a romantic response involving a retreat to nature among social elites. Certainly, the massive changes wrought by industrialization were of primary importance; but it cannot be assumed that all tourism amounted to a romantic reply to industrialization. Some reactions amounted to outright rejections of industrial society, while others offered subtle support for the same. Expressions, either of dissatisfaction or approval towards the industrial revolution, differed depending on their precise timing, location, and physical environment in which they emerged and found a voice. As a corollary to this, beyond reading tourism as reflective of (or a response to) deep-seated changes in society generally, the

analysis should go further and attempt to understand how, and to what extent, tourism actually constitutes modern society and drives change therein. The circumstances of Lake Memphremagog provide an example of how this was the case.

The latter half of the nineteenth century in the Lake Memphremagog region may be designated as the genesis of what geographer, Richard Butler, categorizes as the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC).[18] However, certain qualifications need to be included. Within the TALC, initial, sporadic travel by non-locals to see nature or cultural features of a region, who have contact with but little influence on local populations (exploration stage), gives way to regular and systematized excursions with greater local involvement (involvement stage). Following, specific advertisements for tourist travel prevail and local populations are pushed out of the market centre and larger alterations appear in the physical landscape (early development stage).[19] This evolution reflects development in the Lake Memphremagog region, wherein non-local individuals traveling to the area at irregular times for its natural characteristics – and the socio-cultural values imbued in those landscapes – transformed into a more steady flow, culminating in a decline of a specific form of resort tourism by the end of nineteenth century and the rise of cottage tourism, which continues into the twenty-first century, as considered by Richard M. Lagiewski.[20] However, despite local involvement within early tourism, there is a dominant non-local tourist management from the beginning. This may be explained by the unique combination of topography, geographic location, and settlement and social patterns found within the region.

As demonstrated by several environmental historians, including Richard White and historical geographers, like Matthew Evenden, nature does not stop at artificially constructed international borders.[21] Lake Memphremagog, itself, straddles the international border, one third residing in the state of Vermont and two-thirds residing in Québec. Topographically, the Lake Memphremagog region resembled northern New England as opposed to the physical environment of the St. Lawrence River valley, which the majority of early New France/Lower Canada inhabitants, from the sixteenth century onward, experienced.[22] As part of the Appalachian Mountain system – shared with the northeastern United States – the Lake Memphremagog region occupied an uneven surface with uplands and lowlands, valleys and mountains, one of the highest being Owl's Head on the western shore of the Lake.[23] The area, until agricultural techniques spawned grasslands in several locations, con-

sisted of southeastern mixed forest with isolated patches of deciduous forest. The natural waterways of the region, excluding Lake Memphremagog and the St. Francis River, provided few navigable transportation routes. Environmental features thus isolated the region from the rest of Québec.

Just as nature does not stop at the international border neither does societal formation.[24] Owing to geographic realities, including the limited navigable waterways and dense forests, as well as political concerns, like the fear many leaders in Québec City had regarding invasion by the United States, white settlers did not inhabit the Eastern Townships until 1791. The settlement was unique in terms of its social and spatial organization with regards to relationships within the region and between it and both Lower Canada and the United States.[25]

Despite the layered quality of white settlement within the Eastern Townships, first by Loyalists and Americans then by British immigrants and finally by French-Canadians, throughout the period under consideration in this paper, a dominant Anglophone – and American oriented – population remained in the Lake Memphremagog region, who, located themselves around the Lake using the associate system.[26] Crucially, local farmers, merchants and affluent Americans continued to depend on and perpetuate their social and economic connections in the United States. These connections tied communities on either side of the border together and created a unique situation in which smuggling, lumber trading, agriculture, as well as other cross-border activities, including tourism, became a complex mix of different perceptions of the region among British officials in Québec City, New Englanders and the local inhabitants. However, even as railways became the most important transportation vehicle for industry in the area beginning in the 1850s, carrying growing numbers of commodities – including tourists – from Montreal and Québec City, Lake Memphremagog lay primarily within the New England sphere of influence.[27]

Two concepts help explain Lake Memphremagog tourism during the second half of the nineteenth century as both a reflective and constitutive manifestation of social change in the northeastern United States. The first concept is borrowed from environmental historian, William Cronon. In his compelling book, *Nature's Metropolis*, Cronon asserts that city and country, traditionally viewed as distinct, are components of a single landscape.[28] By tracking commodity flows – commodities being products of nature transformed into capital – between Chicago and its hinterland areas, Cronon shows

how the metropolis and the countryside developed mutually reinforcing identities, each bearing marks of the other, but which are not in opposition.[29]

Cronon's book focuses on tactile commodities such as lumber, wheat and meat. However, his framework can be profitably used to extend ideas about tourism on the northern fringes of New England in the nineteenth century. Tourists themselves may be thought of as representing a kind of commodity flow, which defines deep connections between major urban centres, such as Boston and New York, at given stages of economic and political growth, and the reputedly unconnected northern frontier.[30] Lake Memphremagog tourism must be seen as an integral commodity flow in and of itself, among – not external to – others within New England's changing economy.

However, this particular commodity flow was qualitatively different from others, which one can interpret through a second organizing concept, market revolution. This term broadly incorporates the overwhelming transformation and development of the American economic structure from the early nineteenth century onward, wherein the traditional rural, self-sufficient and household oriented system reorganized into a market and commodity oriented one. Tourism began on Lake Memphremagog in the 1850s. In its early form, Memphremagog tourism is an outgrowth of the fallout from a several-decade period of market expansion and integration in the United States. This fallout culminated most acutely in the so-called panic of 1837, though its political legacy survived through the 1840s. In particular, President Andrew Jackson's ideal of popular sovereignty could not be squared with growing economic disparities or with the increasingly powerful notion of fierce and open competition within the marketplace. Paralleled with the market eruption was tremendous alteration in dominant social structures. With a new market scheme and commodity flows between city and country as well as new employment relationships within the industrial framework, social relationships shifted, ideological paradigms became confused and new financial categories emerged. A yet undefined socio-economic, commercial oriented and historically contingent category developed – the middle-class.[31]

With reduced faith in the government's ability to quell these societal repercussions of the market explosion, the population – especially those within the emerging middle-class – looked elsewhere for answers. Liberalism, as an assemblage of ideological principles favouring individualism and the individual's pursuit of equality, lib-

erty and property, provided one suitable answer for the market-driven economy and social life enveloping Americans.[32] By 1850, liberalism, and the new social structure from which it simultaneously developed and helped create, became dominant forces.[33]

Lake Memphremagog's surroundings, described by tourists and promoters alike as raw, unadorned and empty, offered visitors a natural metaphor for this emerging liberal ideology. For, the Lake Memphremagog region, as depicted in tourist literature, lacking, as of yet, any American social or political affiliation, became representative of liberalism and the new market reality developing in the American middle-class. In this sense, Memphremagog tourism was doubly important as a commodity flow. It functioned as a vehicle through which the middle-class perpetuated and validated the new liberal ideology, specifically through the invocation of natural metaphors and landscape imagery.[34] As Simon Schama relates, landscapes – as representations of the physical environment – are culture before they are nature; they are human creations.[35] Extending from the wilderness landscape of nineteenth century America that invoked strong emotional representations of the American way – including such key concepts in the definition of the American cultural system as individualism, independence, freedom, economic equality and democracy – the tourist landscapes of Lake Memphremagog functioned in a similar manner.[36] The socio-economic and cultural change in America, as embodied in the market and transportation revolutions; the infusion of freedom, individualism and raw, unadorned and seemingly endless nature into Lake Memphremagog's physical environment; and the region's natural separation from the rest of Canada and orientation towards the United States, culminated in a liberal landscape which the middle-class could embrace as a reassuring consequence of overwhelming change. Altogether, these realities forged, in the language of Benedict Anderson, a new imagined tourist community.[37]

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NOTES

1. "Fire at Owl's Head: Mountain House Burned to the Ground." *The Stanstead Journal*. 12 October, 1899, 1.
2. This paper stems from the introduction of my MA research entitled "A Reflective and Constitutive Landscape of Prodigious Change: Tourism on Lake Memphremagog in the Eastern Townships of Quebec During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," completed at McGill University in 2006 and to be published in full in 2009. In the MA paper, various visual and textual examples from tourist literature – from 1850 to 1900 – are analyzed in-depth. The list of primary documents explored in the MA thesis is not included in the bibliography for this publication.
3. Eric Leed *The Mind of the Traveler: from Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (New York: BasicBooks, 1991).
4. James Buzard *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 3.
5. Dean MacCannell *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976 New York: Schocken Books, 1999)
6. Ian McKay. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

7. John Urry states, "[w]hat makes a particular tourist gaze depends upon what it is contrasted with; what the forms of non-tourist experience will be. The gaze therefore presupposes a system of social activities and signs which locate the particular tourist practices, not in terms of some intrinsic characteristics, but through the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices, particularly those based within the home and paid work," *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: SAGE Publications, 1990), 2.
8. Peter Burke. *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 9–19.
9. Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Trans Richard Nice. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass, 1984), 2. Bourdieu also states, "[t]hrough the economic and social conditions which they presuppose, the different ways of relating to realities and fictions, of believing in fictions and the realities they simulate, with more or less distance and detachment, are closely linked to the different possible positions in social space and, consequently, bound up with systems of dispositions (habitus) characteristic of the different classes and class fractions," 5–6.
10. Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada 1935–1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Roderick Nash *Wilderness and the American Mind* (London: Yale University Press, 1967); Richard Sellars *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: a History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). All three deal with nature as witnessed and produced in national parks. MacEachern considers the parks in the Canadian Maritimes, whereas Nash and Sellars deal with parks in the United States. All illustrate how nature is constructed in these parks and how this connects to socio-cultural ideas in mainstream urban society.
11. Timothy Todd Bawden "Reinventing the Frontier: Tourism, Nature, and Environmental Change in North Wisconsin, 1880–1930." Ph.D. diss. (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001); Orvar Lofgren *On Holiday: a History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Piers Brendon *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991); Patricia Jasen *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario 1790–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995); and Dona Brown *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).
12. Cindy S. Aron. *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

13. Scott. A. Martin. *Killing Time: Leisure and Culture in Southwestern Pennsylvania, 1800–1850*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), x.
14. Kenneth John Myer "Selling the Sublime: The Catskills and the Social Construction of Landscape Experience in the United States." Ph.D diss. (Yale University, 1990).
15. Thomas A. Chambers. *Drinking the Waters: Creating an American Leisure Class at Nineteenth-Century Mineral Springs*. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002).
16. John F. Sears. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
17. Dona Brown. *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century*. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).
18. Richard Butler, "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources." In *The Tourist Area Life Cycle: Applications and Modifications*. Ed, Richard Butler, Vol. 1. (Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2005): 5–6.
19. Butler's construction of the TALC continues with stages of consolidation (visitor numbers are larger than permanent residences and there is growing dependence on tourism as an economic resource), stagnation (peak numbers of tourists is reached as witnessed in full carrying capacities of environmental and social components), and decline (the area cannot compete with new attractions), "The Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution," 7.
20. Richard M. Lagiewski. "The Application of the TALC Model: A Literature Survey." In *The Tourist Area Life Cycle: Applications and Modifications*. Ed, Richard Butler, Vol. 1. (Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2005): 89–106.
21. Richard White. "The Nationalization of Nature." *The Journal of American History* 83 no.3 (Dec 1999), 976–986; Matthew Evenden, *Fish Verses Power: an Environmental History of the Fraser River* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
22. This is not to suggest that the physical environment of New France, and later Lower Canada, did not constantly transform under the development of successive First Nation, Francophone and Anglophone settlement. For an example of such changes see, Allen Greer's *Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740–1840*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1985 and Colin M. Coates. *The Metamorphoses of Landscape and Community in Early Quebec*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000). For an American example of environmental

changes during a similar period see, William Cronon *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

23. J.S. Clayton, in the Soils *of Canada*, states that the "northeast-southwest trend of physiographic units composed of highlands and uplands separated by valleys and broad lowlands." Vol. 1. (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1977), 55.

24. In her investigation of the borderlands between Alberta and Montana, Sheila McManus comments "what Canada and the United States got instead was a 'zonal' border, a region grounded in local relationships of social and economic exchange. The land that would become the Alberta-Montana borderlands was home to interconnected communities, economies, and ecologies that could not be divided simply by proclaiming that a linear boundary ran through them, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands*. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005), xii.

25. There are several conclusions to why the region remained unsettled for so long, including its inaccessibility and the desire to maintain the area as a buffer zone between the United States and the new British colony, Booth, *Les Cantons*, 22. For more information on the history of Anglophone populations in Quebec see Ronald Rudin *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English Speaking Quebecers* (Institut Québecois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1985). Lake Memphremagog advanced as a central transportation and settlement route for First Nations groups before and after the creation of the international border. The most prominent group was the Abenakis who resided in and traveled from Vermont through the Lake Memphremagog region towards the St. Francis River further north. Other First Nations groups to be found in the region are the Penacooks, Cowassucks, and Pigwackers. See J. Derek Booth. *Les Cantons de la Saint-François/Townships of the St. Francis.* McCord Museum: McGill University, Montreal, 1986, 21. As early as 1608, with Champlain's voyage, the Abenakis interacted with Europeans and white North Americans. This contact increased during the French-Indian and Revolutionary wars during which the Lake continued its role as a transportation route.

26. These settlement patterns are taken from J. Derek Booth. *Les Cantons de la Saint-François*, 25. Fernand Ouellet comments about the associated system that "under this system, all or part of a township would be acquired by a group of colonists associated under a leader, who would assume the costs of the concession. Each individual would receive 1,200 acres but would keep only 200, conveying 1,000 acres to the leader in consideration of his expenditures past and future," *Lower Canada 1791–1840: Social*

Change and Nationalism. Trans Patricia Claxton. (Toronto: McClellend and Stewart, 1980), 37. For in-depth discussion of the early associates around the lake see C.M. Day. *History of the Eastern Townships, Province of Quebec, Dominion of Canada: civil and descriptive in three parts* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1869) and Ernest M. Taylor. *History of Brome County from the date of grants of land thereein to the present time with record of some of the early families* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1908).

27. Several railways congregate at the Lake Memphremagog region. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Vermont Central Railroad, the Southeast Railway and the Stanstead, Shefford and Chambly (SS&C), Connecticut and Passumpsic and Canadian Pacific lines all passed through the area. The Connecticut and Passumpsic and Central Vermont Railroads ran north to Newport, Vermont at the southern tip of the Lake. Running from Montreal, north of the Lake, was the SS&C that reached Sherbrooke and later the Magog Outlet in 1853. It was leased to Vermont Central Railroad in 1867. Meanwhile, the Connecticut and Passumpsic Railroad, along with residents of Stanstead County on the eastern shore of the Lake, started the Massiwippi Valley Railway that connected to Newport. The residences of the western border of the Lake, desiring a connection to wider markets, created the South East Railway in 1872 that would be leased to the Canadian Pacific in the 1880s.

28. William Cronon argues that "the nineteenth century saw the creation of an integrated economy in the United States, an economy that bound city and country into a powerful national and international market …" *Nature's Metropolis Chicago and the Great West*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), xvi.

29. In Cronon's own words, the metropolitan economy expanded "into regions that had not previously been tightly bound to [the city] markets," *Nature's Metropolis*, xviii.

30. Boston and New York City, as leading urban centres at this time, have complex histories regarding, among other features, industrial, market and social structures which culminated at this time of substantial growth. For discussion of their development see Edward K. Spann. *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840–1857* (New York: Columbia Press, 1981; Frederic Cople Jahar. *Riches, Class and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1973); Ronald Story. *Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard and the Boston Upper-Class, 1800–1920* (Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan Press, 1980); and Kenneth A. Scherzer. *The Unbounded Community: Neighborhood Life and Social Structure in New York City* (Durham, NC.: Duke University Press, 1991).

31. The middle-class has been the focus of various, and often opposing, scholarship on socio-cultural and economic development in the United States. For information on the debates over what was the middle-class, did it even exist, and how does one approach the category see Maris A. Vinouskis. "Stalking the Elusive Middle Class in Nineteenth-Century America: a Review," *Comparative Study of Society and History* 33 no. 3 (July 1991), 582–587. Peter N. Stearns. "The Middle Class: Towards a Precise Definition," *Comparative Study of Society and History* 21 no. 3 (July 1979), 377–396 and Stuart M. Blumin. "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals," *The American Historical Review* 90 no. 2 (April 1985): 299–338.
32. Ian McKay. "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History." *The Canadian Historical Review* 81 no. 4 (Dec 2000), 619. His view of liberalism as "something more akin to a secular religion or totalizing philosophy than to an easily manipulated set of political ideas," 619, is applicable to the use of liberalism in this discussion.
33. Some scholars, most notably Louis Hartz, in *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution*. (1955 New York: Harvest/HBJ Book, 1991), conclude that America, from its very beginning, had a liberal essence.
34. As Cronon states, market commodity flow resulted in "a new recreational hinterland for the city, in which the quality linking the rural countryside to the metropolitan economy was the simple fact that it matched urban expectations of what a nonurban landscape should look like," *Nature's Metropolis*, 380–381.
35. Simon Schama. *Landscape and Memory*. (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995), 61. Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove believe, "[a] landscape is a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings … They may be represented in a variety of materials and on many surfaces – in paint on canvas, in writing on paper, in earth, stone, water, and vegetation on the ground," *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1. For an interesting discussion of Western culture's views of nature see, William Cronon. "The Trouble with Wilderness, or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature." In *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996), 69–90 and Carolyn Merchant. "Nature as Female." In *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), 1–41. All cultures shape and are shaped by physical environments. For insightful examples of this relationship see, Sharon E. Hutchinson. *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War*

and the State. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Colin Scott. "Science for the West, Myth for the Rest The Case of the James Bay Cree" In *Naked Science: Anthropological Inquiry into Boundaries, Power and Knowledge*. ed. L. Nader. (London: Routledge), 69–86; Neil S. Forkey. *Shaping the Upper Canadian Frontier: Environment, Society and Culture in the Trent Valley*. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003); and Donald Worster. *Dust Bowl: the Southern Plains in the 1930s*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). Western culture records a unique history with the physical world. Certain natural landscapes have come to represent America and many of its mainstream ideological beliefs. In the nineteenth century, wilderness landscapes, those with features associated with romantic ideas of sublimity and emotional and spiritual states such as terror and awe, merged with Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier and its stereotyped qualities such as freedom, masculinity and individuality. In this manner, the wilderness became a summarizing symbol of American nationalism. According to Sherry Ortner, a summarizing symbol is one which sums up, expresses and represents for the participants in an emotionally powerful and relatively undifferentiated way what the system means to them, "On Key Symbols." *American Anthologist* 75 no. 5 (October 1973), 1339. The landscape depicted in the tourist literature of Lake Memphremagog functions in a similar manner.

36. For greater exploration of these ideas see Roderick Nash. *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 108, 145. Frederick Jackson Turner. *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962), 4, 24, 259–260.

37. Benedict Anderson views nationalism as an imagined community. It is imagined because one can never know all the other members within the community. It is limited in that it has elastic boundaries beyond which lay other nations. It is sovereign because it emerges as a concept at a time when there is a lack of faith in a divine hierarchy. It is a community because it formulates a horizontal comradeship, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. (New York: Verso, 1991), 5–6. A vital component in the creation of the imagined community is the development and spread of print capitalism, 37–46. The movement of people as commodities in tourism, in the same manner as print capital, is an interesting addition to a consideration of the imagined community and requires further research.

CAMP ARROWHEAD – A SOCIAL HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

Camp Arrowhead was situated on Fitch Bay, an eastward extending arm of Lake Memphremagog, and was in operation between 1946 and 1969. The primary goal of founder and educator, Ken Murray, was to provide a social environment where the boys of Montreal's Anglo elite could live out the drama of adolescence while getting in touch with a more "authentic" self than was possible on the city streets. The camp also provided vital seasonal income for local labourers, some of whom had woodland skills that were soon to disappear in an increasingly mechanized work environment. Drawing heavily on oral sources, this study focuses on the mutual dependence of the Westmount (West Montreal inner suburb) and Fitch Bay *milieux*, and on the social and cultural uses of "wilderness" for city dwellers.

RÉSUMÉ

Le camp Arrowhead, situé dans la baie Fitch, qui s'étend à l'Est du Lac Memphrémagog, a été actif de 1946 à 1969. Le principal objectif de son fondateur et éducateur, Ken Murray, était d'offrir aux garçons de l'élite anglophone montréalaise l'opportunité d'exprimer les tourments de leur adolescence dans un environnement où l'authenticité de chacun pouvait se manifester plus aisément que dans leur environnement urbain. Le camp offrait aussi des revenus saisonniers cruciaux aux travailleurs locaux, plus particulièrement aux travailleurs forestiers, qui allaient bientôt voir disparaître leurs compétences au profit de la mécanisation. Basée principalement sur des sources orales, cette étude porte sur la dépendance mutuelle des milieux de Westmount (banlieue ouest de Montréal) et de la baie Fitch, et sur les usages sociaux et culturels des milieux naturels par les citadins.

Lake Memphremagog stretches for about thirty miles across the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains, extending across the border between Québec and Vermont State. About six miles north of the border, an old road runs under the covered bridge spanning the "Narrows" of an eastward arm of the lake, Fitch Bay.

Between 1946 and 1969, at the end of this arm was a little wooded settlement on the lake, intensely active for about two and a half months of every year. It was called Camp Arrowhead, and at the end of June, busloads of boys from Montreal's Anglo elite, about 150 in all, flowed into the tents and halls of the settlement. The goal of the founder, educator Ken Murray, was to create a carefully crafted social environment where boys could live out the drama of adolescence while getting in touch with a more authentic self than was possible in the streets of Montreal, and to provide a counter balance to the over domestication and artificiality of the city. The intentional community[1] created on the Bay embraced teachers, counsellors, camp directors (and their families) as well as their charges.

Buses arriving from Montreal at the beginning of the season

This little colony was served by rural labourers who lived in the nearby village of Fitch Bay. At the time of the camp's foundation, the village sported a general store, four churches, several sawmills, a school and a country inn. The town's inhabitants were overwhelmingly English speaking, though a few French Canadian families had recently established themselves. Arrowhead was a vital part of the local economy, providing seasonal work for one full time man of all trades, as well as female domestic staff who did the cleaning, cooking, housekeeping and serving.

The mutual dependence of these two worlds, Westmount (where many of the boys were from) and Fitch Bay, is the subject of this collective memoir. Much has been written about how the economy of the Eastern Townships has been captive to that of the greater urban centres in the course of the last century, but there has been little work on the social uses of "wilderness " and of "country" for city dwellers. A second, underlying focus of this study is the transformation of the local countryside between 1946 and 1969.The camp operated during a period of rapid technological and social change, which saw the electrification of the countryside, the spread of the car as a mode of transport and the increasing movement of people that followed. Looking at the microcosmic world of Camp

Arrowhead should also tell us something about the ramifications of these changes.

To begin with, I will look at the foundation and structure of the camp and the camp experience from the point of view of the boys who attended it. Secondly, I will move to the infrastructure of local labourers that sustained its operation. Thirdly, I will discuss perceptions that each group had of the other, relying heavily on oral interviews conducted among former workers, camp directors, and longtime residents of Fitch Bay.

Summer camps first appeared in Québec, as elsewhere in North America around the turn of the century, organized by social reformers seeking to counter the impact of industrialization on urban youth by giving them access to fresh air far from the city. In the early decades of the century, a number of religious and social welfare organizations ran subsidized "charity" camps.[2] The movement really took off during the post World War II baby boom, when a great many private establishments sprang up in the woodlands of the Algonquin region in Ontario. By this time, camp directors were selling not just escape from the city; they were promoting the idea of wilderness as the ideal site for personality development. Educators argued that provided opportunities for a more balanced, physical expression of self, and for a deeper and more egalitarian form of socialization than was possible in the city. [3]

In 1945, Westmount physical education instructor and guidance counsellor Ken Murray was looking for a way to launch his own enterprise, as well as to try out his own ideas about personality development.[4] He had under his belt several years of experience as assistant director of Camp Nominangue in the Laurentian Mountains. He had close ties to a number of teachers who would only be too happy to supplement their school year income by working into the summer. Murray's potential clients could be recruited from the local schools with which he was already familiar. He had a work partner in his wife Velma, as well as two school age sons. He had a name for the camp,[5] Arrowhead. All Murray needed was a site. That was provided by Claude Alger, mayor of Fitch Bay, lumber merchant and contractor, who sold Murray and his business partner A.B.Farquhar (who soon afterwards withdrew from the project) 50 acres of wooded waterfront property on the Bay.

Over a couple of seasons, master carpenter Howard Rollins, with the help of local labourers built the structures that housed the little colony: a lodge, a dining hall, an infirmary, a craft shop, outhouses (later to be replaced by modern toilets with running water), and the

wooden platforms which dotted the site, and on which the tents were pitched.[6] As Arrowhead grew, the Murrays gradually purchased a number of cottages across the dirt road from the camp, where the camp directors and their families and the camp cook lived during the summer.[7] Some of these adults, like the Murrays, had children who attended the camp. Still others had children who were too young to attend, but nevertheless became younger members of the camp community. These households retained a degree of independence from the encampment while taking their home cooked meals from the kitchen.[8]

Preparing the site involved intense labour. Carpenters and workmen raced to get as much building done before the camp first opened. At the end of June they brought hand tools: rip saws, bow saws, axes and shovels, "not a chainsaw in sight."[9] The work of getting ready, however, started long before the summer. In the early years of the camp, a couple of men filled the icehouses during the winter months:

> Of course you had to break the ice with an axe first. Then you had to get out your saw, a long one with a pointed end to it, and cut the ice one way, then the other way. Next you had to draw the pieces out, about three foot square. You pulled them out, with a tongs, or with a chain, and then you pulled them onto a sled that was drawn by a team of horses. Then you had to take the ice to the icehouse, and load it in, and cover it with sawdust, to keep it cold in the summer.[10]

Women's work of getting ready for the season could be equally physically challenging. Housekeeper Olive Stebennes remembered as her most difficult task doing the camp laundry by hand in a huge wooden tub.

Drawing ice from the lake, working with draft horses, using, sharpening and repairing hand tools, hand washing: these were some of the rural skills needed to establish Arrowhead. Those who practised these skills saw them as ordinary, everyday proficiencies. To educators like the Murrays, they were the living artefacts of a "pioneer" environment that gave the summer colony its flavour.[11]

Indeed the two decades during which the camp operated marked a sea change in the work environment in the woods. By way of illustration, in 1952, axes and bucksaws cut 80% of the pulpwood harvested in the forests of eastern Canada. By 1960 these tools had been replaced by the ubiquitous chainsaw, which cut 100 % of the harvest.[12]

While Arrowhead was an enterprise that provided supplemental income for labourers, counsellors, section directors, and a nurse, it was also an ideological construct. The camp was a work of the imagination that was shaped by the values of masculine self reliance. It was conceived as a response to the yearning for a means of expression of the "primitive" dimension of being human, achieved partly through the pseudo-Indian rituals that were an obligatory part of contemporary camp life. In this next section of this collective memoir, I would like to look at the Camp Arrowhead experience from an insider's point of view. How did the boys for whom the site was developed experience Arrowhead?

Camp Arrowhead: the Boys of Summer

Who were these boys? For the most part they were children of Montreal's Anglophone middle class professional elite, children of doctors, teachers, lawyers, judges, politicians and business people. Much of the recruiting was done at Lower Canada College, Montreal's exclusive private boarding school for boys. A 1959 listing of camp clients lists a preponderance of Westmount and Town of Mount Royal addresses (both affluent neighbourhoods), though there were many boys from other parts of Montreal and from other cities in Québec, including Sherbrooke and Lennoxville in the Townships. A small number of students were from overseas, for whom Arrowhead was a summer version of the boarding school experience that they normally lived during the school year. Certainly, only well-heeled families could afford the 70-dollar weekly fee[13] that placed Arrowhead in the realm of the more exclusive, but not the most expensive private camps in Québec. The children of those on staff attended without charge, as did a number of other children of parents unable to afford to send their child to camp for a second consecutive season. One parent paid his son's fees in kind, by donating one of his own paintings in lieu of cash.[14] Curiously enough, Arrowhead was perceived as the cheaper alternative in some circles. Robert Leopold, for instance, claims that his parents, in difficult financial straits one year, chose Arrowhead because it was less expensive than the Jewish private camps which he usually attended. Presumably Arrowhead retained the necessary cachet, while requiring less cash.[15]

Arrowhead actively cultivated its reputation as having the type of boys that upper middle-class parents would want their child to socialize with.[16] This was a great asset for many upwardly mobile French-speaking families who sought a suitable environment in

which their boys could learn English.[17] In addition, contemporary literature and promotional material encouraged parents to see camp as an opportunity they gave their children not just to escape the city, but also to come to maturity through their interaction with the woods, and with each other. The supreme values of personal initiative and the opportunities for leadership promoted by this program were perfectly suited to the goals of middle and upper class parents, both English and French speaking.

An alternative world "away from the bustle and artificial living of the cities; whereby a carefully arranged programme of activities and living, the children will grow in their appreciation of nature and friendship"[18] was painstakingly designed by Ken Murray and reshaped by the counsellors and campers that inhabited it. The installations were intentionally minimalist: each camper had a small cot in a tent built on one of the walled platforms that dotted the settlement. Arrowhead was physically sectioned into junior (6 to 9 year olds), intermediate (10 to 12 year olds) and senior (13 to 15 year olds) sections, so that boys socialized almost exclusively with their peers, under the guidance of older boys and young men (counsellors-in-training and counsellors), who were in turn supervised by adult section directors. Activities offered included swimming (obligatory), arts and crafts, sailing and boating, baseball and tennis. Within the structure of a highly organized day of activities, the boys (both counsellors and campers) had the freedom to reinvent, to reclaim, and to rename. Former camper Peter Healey for instance, remembered digging a frog pond and building a tree house amongst the pines with his fellow campers. Like all camps, Arrowhead also had its own mythological landscape. The infirmary, for instance, was known as "Siberia," the junior section of the camp "Piddlers' Paradise," and the railing along the area in front of the phone, which distraught young campers used once a week to call home was known as the "Wailing Wall."

Intense socialization, however, took place within the confines of the tents, where the campers slept five or six boys under the close supervision of their counsellor. Living together at close quarters in an occasionally leaky tent certainly facilitated the development of what one former counsellor called "the discipline of group life," which included habits such as tidying muddy shoes and wet clothes. It also included working together to pass the daily inspections:

> Every morning we had to roll up the flaps of our tent and clean the place up. Someone came around and gave us points for the

> job we did. Our group always came up first. I really got those boys going! It became a kind of a game for us. One morning we hung out all our washing along the sides of the tent, just so that we could give ourselves handicap points, and still win![19]

The most intense bonding, however, took place away from the site, on camp trips. Once a camper passed the test of swimming 300 yards he could participate in the canoe outings that took the boys to short excursions on Lake Memphremagog to Loons' Island and Hell's Gate, or as far away as Sherbrooke (a distance of about 30 miles), in the case of the senior campers. For the less water inclined, there were also hiking trips to the Green Mountains in Vermont. The boys brought their own food and bedding on these excursions that lasted from overnight to four nights. Led by counsellors who were sometimes as young as fourteen years old (presumably with joint leadership of a young adult), these trips were designed to foster self-reliance and to allow maximum scope for the initiative and ingenuity. And much like the camaraderie of army life, the shared experience of being stretched to one's physical and emotional limits drew teenagers together:

> On one trip we hiked through streams of water so deep that we had to hang on to trees to be able to stay standing. The going was so tough that when we got to the top of the mountain, one French kid just sat down and cried. And you know what, I was relieved; because I was having such a hard time myself.[20]

If tripping in the wilderness provided an opportunity for the growing boys to assert their independence and to develop leadership skills, the next step in maturation was the ritual unauthorized escape from the site itself into the real wilds, town life. More than one counsellor stole away in his time off to drink with the locals at Ridgeway Inn. The Murray's own son, Bob, snuck off on his bike at night to accompany a friend who was "going out" with a girl from the dining hall staff, and yet another counsellor spoke of secret excursions to Magog, where he enjoyed "booze, parties, and girls." In the heady days of adolescence "fun" could be very innocent while still partaking of the air of the forbidden. One counsellor spoke of spending his night off in a secluded clearing with some of the counsellors from the adjacent girls' camp, where they spent the entire night talking.

Part of the pleasure was often developing an intimacy with the lake itself. "I had been around every inch of that lake at night" said one former camper, "so I'd still know exactly where I was, even in

the dark."[21] Former camper Robert Leopold recalled moments of ecstasy at Arrowhead in the appreciation of the natural beauty of the lake, as well as the increased scope for his imagination that these excursions offered. Describing a boat trip that provided a view of Elephant's Head and of Abbé St. Benoit he remembered thinking: "What an incredible thing that monks could live alone like that, praying all day."[22]

For the boys of Arrowhead, the primal experience of bonding with the natural world came with an elaborate wrapping that gave a cultural dimension to the experience. This was the "Indian lore" that permeated camp life. During the sixties, children arriving at camp were assigned to "tribes" (Mohawk, Cree, Blackfoot and Apache) and councillors planted mock Indian artefacts such as bone and arrowheads, around which treasure hunts were then designed.[23] But for many of the campers, the highlight of their camp experience was the Grand Council, the cathartic rite where community, ritual, the power of fire and water, and the mystery of the night forest met. Twice during the course of the summer the boys would dress in war paint, feathers, and drape a blanket around themselves. After nightfall, their counsellors would lead them in a procession through a path in the woods lit by candles placed in tin cans nailed to trees. In an atmosphere of great solemnity, the boys would arrive at a clearing, where the great chief, Ken Murray, wearing a ceremonial headdress for the occasion, would receive them. The next moment was described by more than one former camper as "magical":

> The great chief would lift his hand to the sky, and say in a grave voice "O, Great Muhumba, send forth your fire from the sky!" And then we would see, out of nowhere, a flame come down from the forest into a pit in the middle of the Council Ring, and whoosh a great fire would ignite, just like that! It was supposed to be a secret, how they did that, but it was a secret that everyone knew.[24]

The evening would then proceed with the collective chanting of the "Omaha Indian Prayer," and with Indian dancing led by the counsellors to the beat of camp crafted drums. To twenty-first century sensibility this "playing Indian" strikes us as an act of cultural appropriation that is contrived and disrespectful of the reality of Aboriginal life and culture. How do we explain its meaning to those who embraced it?

The experience of spontaneity, mysticism, catharsis, and primitivism described by the former campers were created thanks to the

camping manuals consulted by Ken Murray, which prescribed most of the elements of the ritual, down to the method of lighting the council fire, and the words of the prayer. The Great Council responded undoubtedly, to deeply felt yearning for communion with the elemental world, for bonding rituals and for physical catharsis. Educators like Ken Murray chose a context far removed from the conventions of organized Christianity, which many contemporary intellectuals criticized as remote from the natural world, and devoid of meaning.[25]

The Grand Council

We get some insight into how Indian lore and games were associated with the coming to age of boys, by comparing it to the experience of the girls who were close at hand. For the last three seasons of Arrowhead's existence, its facilities were used by the adjacent girl's camp, Camp Nokomis, administered by the former Arrowhead nurse Janet Dimock. In contrast to the boys, who slept in tents, the thirty to thirty-five girls at the camp were housed in the lodge, a large building on the eastern edge of the summer settlement. These girls took arts and crafts with the boys, producing similar types of artefacts in the Indian style, and all in all, their Indian education tended to emphasize the literary and cultural, rather than animalistic and cathartic. One of the rituals they performed regularly was the reading of Wordsworth's "Hiawatha," while seated in a circle in a clearing in the woods. The relatively sheltered quarters of the girls, as well the literary nature of their Indian adventure tells us, through its contrast with the young males' experience, much about contemporary educators' beliefs about the needs of this latter group. The outlet for "primitive" instincts in a rough environment, it was thought, provided the balance necessary for proper personality development of overprotected urban boys.

While the Grand Council was undoubtedly the highlight of a summer of transformation, self-revelation, and comradery, for

many who did not fit in, the summer was a time of alienation and homesickness. Eight-year-old René LaBossière, for instance, attended one season as a unilingual, French speaking boy. He could not communicate with his tent-mates, and he didn't know any of the boys, most of whom, he said knew one another from school, or from previous summers at camp.[26] Nine-year old Robert Leopold lived his one summer at Arrowhead as an exile: he experienced the non-Jewish environment as strange, and was happy to return to the familiarity of a Jewish camp the next year.[27] On the other hand, camp life was undoubtedly a successful assimilation experience for the many adolescent children whose upwardly mobile francophone parents sent them to camp in order to learn English. Although up to one third of the Arrowhead clientele was French-speaking, English was the language of communication, and many francophones were fully conversant in English thanks, at least in part, to their time spent here. Among its francophone clientele, Arrowhead boasted Pierre-Marc and Daniel Johnson.

Camp life brought together people of diverse social and cultural backgrounds in closer interaction than was possible during the school year, allowing social perceptions to form and to gel. Anglophone Eugene Blanchart, for example, told how he preferred to hang out with the French boys, because "they were more fun." He told me the story of a camping trip that he went on, with a group of francophone boys. In accordance with camp regulations, two groups, a second one an English-speaking group , set off together with them and camped at the base of the mountain. As Eugene told it, his group snuck off in the morning to climb the slope quite happy to leave the staid English boys behind.[28]

"Send him away a boy, and he will come back a man" is one formulation offered for the mandate of private boy's camps. More than one former camper, however, described the Murray touch at Arrowhead as different from this hyper masculine formula. Here, boys were encouraged to use their natural aptitudes in leadership or in teaching roles, whether these aptitudes were physical or not. Peter Healey, for example, who had a passion for Crafts, was given the position of instructor at age fourteen, and had his fees deferred in exchange for the service.

Arrowhead was a site where upper-middle-class boys could experience a rite of passage in which leadership and individual initiative were held up as model virtues. These virtues were to be used in the context of the greater camp community, which was in turn sustained by the labour of marginal rural workers who maintained and

fed the summer colony. Local labourers contributed more than good food, clean sheets and safe buildings. They also gave images of the bucolic, and of rural life to the urban residents of Arrowhead.

Camp Labourers: A Group Portrait

Most of those who serviced the camp lived in and around the village of Fitch Bay. A brief description of the family backgrounds of these people and of their work illustrates the value that seasonal employment had in local economy, as well as the importance of close networking in sustaining it, both important part of rural workers' culture. Adult labourers depended on the camp to help support themselves and their families, while to the many teenagers who worked in the kitchen and in the dining hall, the camp provided a significant social outlet, and an opportunity to reinforce the work ethic with which they were raised. The parents of many of these young people lived by farming and by wood craft, and in this transitional economic period in the life of the region, were able to use Arrowhead as a stepping stone to other kinds of work, while using the skills that they grew up with.[29]

Of the sample of eight labourers that I interviewed, three had families whose main source of income was related to wood, including lumber selling, carpentry, woodcutting and wood working. Three had fathers who had spent part of their working life in textile or clothing factories, two had parents who were dairy farmers, and one had a father who worked in a stone (granite) shed. Two of the younger women had mothers who "worked out," which meant paid cooking, to cleaning and to laundering, in one case for the Camp itself. Most of the women (and all of men, with one exception) who worked at the camp were anglophone, though there were a group of francophones in the early sixties who worked primarily in the kitchen. The service staff consisted of around eight workers at any given time. The cook was at the top of the camp service hierarchy. Aside from her and her two aides, three or four women (for the most part, 14–18 year olds) worked regularly as servers in the dining hall. Housekeeping was shared by the dining hall staff and by a floating housekeeper. One man worked as a full-time maintenance man. Those last two workers supported children and lived exclusively by manual skills. The following portraits give us an idea of how the camp fit into the life cycles of those who worked there.

Rosie Courtemanche was born around 1920, and worked as a housekeeper at the camp during the fifties and sixties. Her husband, who could barely read, was at first a woodcutter, who carefully

removed, using only hand tools, the bark from trees that he cut. He then worked for the textile factory in Magog, the main industrial employer of Fitch Bay labour.[30] In the winter Rose worked at the Lemaie General Store. Rose could not write (though she did read), and when Velma Murray befriended her, she took lessons at the Murrays' house. In the spring she opened the cottages that housed staff, removing mousetraps, washing floors and windows, putting up curtains, preparing linen. After her workday was over, she hand washed (there was no electricity in Fitch Bay when she began this job) and ironed laundry, tablecloths and children's clothing, which she brought home from the camp, in addition to washing the laundry at the Ridgeway Inn, just down the road. When Rose's daughter Annette was 14, her mother asked the Murrays to hire the girl to work in the kitchen, and the two travelled the five miles or so to Arrowhead together. Cars were much less common in the countryside than they are today, and certainly out of the reach of many of the employees, whose family car was reserved for the use of the main wage earner, almost invariably male. Rose and Annette, therefore, commuted to the camp with maintenance man Bertie Larue.

Bertie's own father had been a maker of axe handles, and Bertie lived by seasonal work, cutting wood in the winter, and doing "odd jobs" in the summer for some of the women who owned cottages by the lake.[31] He continued this employment even after coming to work at the camp on a regular basis. According to one former camper "Bertie could fix anything." He was everywhere, with "a chainsaw under one arm, and an axe in the other"[32] mending furniture, replacing rotten wood, clearing brush, and installing and repairing plumbing. He was particularly proud of one of the jobs he did at the camp, rebuilding the entrance to the dining hall to make it more serviceable. Bertie was a self-taught expert at maintaining hand tools, sharpening axes and saws, and refitting worn handles. As the "man of all trades," he was called upon to perform a job that he recalled with distaste, cleaning the cesspits, which held kitchen and human waste.[33]

Both Rose Courtemanche and Bertie Larue used the income they earned at Arrowhead to support their children. A younger generation of adolescent workers staffed the kitchen and the dining room. Before looking at a couple of them individually, we will take a peek into their worksite and the culture it supported.

Feeding and Serving Arrowhead

At the top of the camp hierarchy, with the highest salary (corresponding to the longest hours) was the camp cook, who worked closely, for many years with Velma Murray. While she occupied that position, Beth Lavoie lived in one of the cottages on the edge of the camp, and her husband visited her on weekends. She lived next to section directors, the nurse and the Murrays, all of whom ate the food prepared in the camp kitchen. The cooking was home made, from scratch, the ingredients supplied primarily from wholesalers in Sherbrooke, and supplemented by local produce.[34] To the boys however, what made camp food distinct was its whimsicality. On trips, for instance, counsellors packed tightly compressed loaves of bread to save space, along with "bug juice," a sweet drink prepared from diluted syrup. For some, the most memorable quality of the food was that it never ran out; one counsellor remembered with relish the great quantities that he and his fellow counsellors ate. It was no easy task to accommodate these appetites, for at the height of the season, there were about 200 boys and staff eating in the kitchen. Each counsellor doled out food to his own group after it was placed in the middle of the table by one of the three servers on duty in the dining hall.

Louise Markwell was one of these servers. She worked at Camp Arrowhead in the years 1961–64. Before working at the camp Louise worked in a restaurant across the lake (at the Baygraff Marina), earning $10 per 7-day week, baking cookies and bread. She was 14 when her cousin, who worked part-time in the Arrowhead dining hall suffered a back injury after a fall, and Louise replaced her. The second summer she worked full time at a salary of $20 per week for a six day week that began at 7 a.m. and ended at 7 p.m, with a long break in the afternoon. She was happy to graduate to the kitchen, which paid $25 per week, the 5-dollar difference to compensate for a work-day that included only one short break. Louise remembered some of the more pleasurable aspects of the job: "Some of the food came packed in dry ice, which was quite hard to handle, because you couldn't touch the stuff. We liked to pour hot water on the ice, to see the clouds of steam rise into the air."[35] Louise peeled potatoes beneath a small lean-to by the brook, peeling and sometimes mashing two large potfuls every morning, using a mechanized barrel, which scrubbed the potatoes clean. Many of the "help" recalled this as a pleasant and relaxed, social time, when Velma Murray, who supervised in the kitchen, would sit and chat with them. A more onerous task was the attack on the large stacks of dishes, which took

about one hour to wash and dry by hand with the help of one other worker.

Louise's experience tells us much about the nature and the culture of work in this rural setting. Firstly, much manual labour was involved. It was not until about 1959 that electricity came to the area. Hand tools were used for construction and maintenance (the gas-powered chainsaw being a notable exception) and washing was first done near the stream behind the dining hall in a large wooden barrel. The arrival of electricity had a considerable impact. More than one kitchen worker was fascinated by the electrically powered potato washing machine. Even after the arrival of the freezer, and the machine washer, because of the volume of work, quick hands and strong backs (to lift the milk cans, or to stock the freezer, to carry heavy trays to the dining room) were needed.

Secondly, labourers' work life started very young, certainly by today's standards. Louise, as we have seen, already had a paid job under her belt before she was fourteen. Nor was she the youngest worker at the camp. Yvette Courtemanche helped her mother in the kitchen when she was only eleven.

Thirdly, social networks and work connections more than just overlapped, they were virtually identical. The older, married women who cooked, often got jobs for their younger family members and for other young women in a friendship circles that included almost the entire village. The kitchen, according to one worker, operated and felt very much like a family.[36] "They (the older women) took care of me, and I learned a lot listening to them talking among themselves, and talking to me."[37] The dining room help, on the other hand, consisted of a rotating group of peers of about 16 to 18 years old (the average length of stay was about 2 or 3 years, generally the last years of high school) who knew each other from the local schools, sometimes based outside of Fitch Bay.[38] In these cases cooperation outside the workplace was often essential. Carole Daviaux, for example, boarded with her friend and co-worker Louise Markwell, in order to avoid a long early morning walk from her home in Beebe. Both of them were picked up by Arrowhead handy man Bert Larue, on his way to Camp. Though workers were both English- and French-speaking, language differences were not a barrier to socialization. Francophones like cook Beth Lavoie simply expected to have to stretch to make themselves understood, and she took some teasing when, for instance, she asked her English-speaking aide for a ladder, instead of a ladle. While the main language of communication was English, she would speak French with

her francophone co-workers.

In fact conviviality was the single most attractive feature of the job for almost everyone that I talked to. As Alta Sheldon recall: "Everybody got on so well together, and that there were no complaints, each morning you got up and looked forward to working together. It was sad to leave the camp at the end of the summer, knowing that you wouldn't see counsellors that you had grown familiar with, for another year."[39]

Indeed, for many of these young women who grew into domestic work, there was no hard and fast line between work and socialization, which was another form of play. Doris Markwell, for instance, loved the group aspect of the job. She felt that her girlhood experience of helping to prepare, and of serving at church dinners made for an easy transition to paid work in the dining hall.[40]

The blurring of work and play was at least, in part a consequence of restricted mobility, and of limited opportunities for what we would now call "leisure." When asked why she would spend her summers as a young teenager working at Arrowhead, one woman quipped, "What else was there to do in Fitch Bay?"[41] It was a short step to a culture of work as self-validation, even for adolescents. "You weren't a person unless you worked,"[42] said one woman. "Arrowhead taught me the meaning of work." Of course, the benefits were more than just educational or recreational. The income provided by work at the camp was a vital part of the family economy for many. It was the only regular family income for widow Eva Sheldon, for instance, and her daughter Alta, who also worked at the camp, and who used her first summers' earnings to pay for much needed dental work.[43]

For the labourers who worked at the camp, Arrowhead was a source of seasonal income based on tightly knit social ties. As such it allowed for the survival of a localized economy. It also provided opportunities for local young women to be educated in the social and work ethic appropriate to their gender and their class.[44] Their presence formed an important part of the social education of the young boys at the camp, who also learned, through limited interaction with the locals, about class, and about "country." In the next section of this collective memoir, we will look at how the two groups, rural labourers and urban campers saw each other. Though the interaction between the two groups was fairly circumscribed, it was sufficient to allow important mutual perceptions of town and country.

"At Arrowhead, I would never confuse Fitch Bay and Westmount," one former camper said. "I was only eleven, but I knew not to expect to see someone from Montreal serving in the dining room." Who did these boys themselves identify with? When I asked former campers who their models at the camp were, and the qualities these people possessed, there were a variety of responses. For some it was an athlete whose achievements spurred on boys to imitation, to another it was creative talent as an artist, and others had as a model a suave and dynamic musician (Rad Turnbull). Two boys who attended the camp as teen-age counsellors mentioned the mentorship of section director Norval Cheeseman, who tactfully accepted their forays into the wilds of the village of Fitch Bay, while reminding them of the responsibilities for their boys that could not be neglected during these escapades.[45] No one cited the male workers as their models, perhaps since the contact between the two groups was extremely limited, though it was unlikely that these boys would identify with a male clearly not of their class.

Interaction between the campers and dining hall staff could also be limited. The social lives of the latter group were of course, in the village. Louise Warner, for instance, had better things to do than to partake in the Saturday night movies offered at the camp. She was off with her parents to the weekly dances in Fitch Bay, where she could dance until one, and get up for work at 6:30 the next day.[46] In some cases, nonetheless, there was significant contact. During their breaks some of the dining hall girls spent time on the waterfront, or in the Craft Hall, where they made baskets or gumby bracelets, and some of them were even privileged spectators of the rite of the Grand Council. A few of the young servers dated counsellors, and some visited their summer beaus in Montreal. Not all the interface was so intense, and the convivial spirit of the camp community lured some of the married workers to the site afterhours. Kitchen worker Alice Courtemanche for instance, occasionally attended musical evenings and film screenings in the dining hall with her husband.

Though there were various opportunities for mixing, to a large degree the locals were part real people, part projection of "country" for young campers. One former camper described the infatuation that he and his peers had for a particularly curvaceous server, who seemed to them an incarnation of "Daisy Mae" (a hillbilly caricature of a socially primitive and hypersexual female). Perceptions that the young campers had of the few men who worked at the camp were those of admiration mixed with trepidation.[47] One former camper

recalled a man who worked with horses: "He could do absolutely anything with horses, and I remember, he had one finger missing on his hand".[48] Bertie Larue's tools, claimed one camper, seemed to be a part of him. "I never talked to him though, or heard him talk. It seems strange now." Bertie the taciturn woodsman, the scarred drover were strong and hard working figures who became mythic figures for the boys. Their masculinity was to be admired, but their remoteness from the everyday urban reality of the boys had a scary side. We can see this slippery slope from real life people to outright figures of fright in the evocation of "Three fingered Willie" by one of the counsellors, in order to keep his young campers from wandering from the tent at night. According to his telling, Three Fingered Willy had a cabin in the woods behind the camp, and every evening he ventured forth in search of boys to eat! [49]

These scare tactics were frowned upon by the direction of the camp, and as far as the help went, director Ken Murray was adamant about inculcating respect with the corresponding decorum towards them. Doreen Markwell had this to say about the social education of the boys she attended:

> "One day I was coming into the dining hall with a tray of watermelon, and I tripped and went sliding. Wouldn't you know it, I landed with my watermelon still in my hands, on my knees, right in front of a counsellor! And you know what? The whole hall went quiet. Not one of those boys laughed!"[50]

Arrowhead clearly had an important role in the socialization of both campers and staff, and it also made an impact on the village of Fitch Bay. The village played both eager audience and host and to "the boys." For these villagers, Arrowhead provided a connection to the greater world. "That was something, to see these great big buses driving here, right through town," one long-time resident told me, speaking of the annual arrival of campers at the beginning of July. The same informant was impressed as a child, to see black faces in town. "You didn't get to see that much down here," he said. He was not referring, as one might think, to ethnic diversity amongst the campers (there were few, if any black campers), but to the minstrel shows put on by them. In Arrowhead's early years, artist and filmmaker Ed Reed was staff art director. Under his supervision boys and their counsellors performed songs and skits with great enthusiasm, and were received with equal eagerness by the wildly appreciative audiences in Fitch Bay. Equally popular were the talent contests of a later era. Of course there were limits to peaceful cohabitation, and

some barriers between camp and town proved inevitable. Tensions could run high between local boys and camp counsellors, and the latter were banned from dances in Fitch Bay, on the pretext that their presence invariably occasioned a fight.[51]

On the other hand, the village often acted with gracious hospitality. Every year, the end of the summer was marked by a long procession of children and staff who walked the road to Fitch Bay, strung out, one villager told me, for more than half a mile. Upon arrival, they were served a sumptuous dinner by the Women's' Auxiliary of the Anglican Church at the local church hall, which was followed by a bazaar featuring prizes for games of skill.

By 1969, rural life in the area had been transformed. Developments like the construction of the Eastern Townships Autoroute had brought country and city closer, modernization had made many rural skills redundant, and changes in agriculture were putting enormous pressure on the small farming (particularly in the case of dairy) that was one of the economic mainstays of the Fitch Bay area. Modernization came to the camp movement as well. A substantial investment in the dining area was required in order for the camp to meet new certification standards, and Arrowhead had been running on a deficit for some time. The Murrays were thinking of retiring, and especially given the financial pressure on the camp, none of the co-directors of the camp were eager to take the baton. In the spring of 1970, the decision was made to close the camp. In the years following, the buildings that served as the camp's infrastructure were sold to private individuals. The road that runs along the waterfront from the covered bridge however, is still called "Arrowhead."

By the time the camp closed, it had provided employment for two generations of local women and men. It had also provided a lakeside woodland site for boys to live an intense group experience. It had given educators a vital role in a summer colony of their own creation, providing community for them as well. While most of the clients of the camp were certainly the children of privilege, the Murrays administered the facility in a spirit of openness that gave many local residents an opportunity for enjoyment of an environment of great natural beauty. The steady increase of land values in the area, combined with the greater investments needed to maintain the standards required for certification make it difficult to imagine the future survival of summer camps on the Arrowhead model of simplicity. As this article is written, the fate of North Hatley's Québec Lodge (a camp operated roughly at the same time

as Arrowhead) hangs in the balance. Together with the controversy over the privatization of Mount Orford Park, these dossiers illustrate the fragility of access to open spaces, and a wide public awareness that the social uses of woodland and waterfront are very much public concerns.

On the road to Camp Arrowhead

Acknowledgement

The author of this article would like to express her sincere thanks to the Bélanger-Gardner Foundation for its financial support to the realization of this study.

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Phaneuf (Markwell), Doreen. Interview with the author, 7 March, 2006, Waterville.

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NOTES

1. An intentional community is group where membership is voluntary, and structure is planned. It is usually used with reference to communes, or co-housing projects.
2. These include camps of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish denominations. The Y.M.C.A of Montreal camp was the earliest documented forerunner. See Historique des Camps de vacances de l'accréditation et de la certification, http://www.camps.qc.ca/fr/apropos.html, March 22, 2006
3. For two examples of popular thinking about camp life from the 1950s, see Nancy Cleaver, "An Old Canadian Custom : Sending the Kids to Camp," *Saturday Night*, 19 April 1952, 16, Peter Newman, "Junior's $10 Million Adventure in the Pines," *Financial Post*, 5 June, 5, cited in Sharon Wall, "Totem Poles,Teepees and Token Traditions:, 'Playing Indian' at Ontario Summer Camps,1920–1955," *Canadian Historical Review*, 86 (3), 2005:515.
4. For an overview of educators' ideas about camping and the personality development of boys, see Kristopher Churchill's "Learning about Manhood and Gender Ideals and 'Manly" Camping' " in Bruce W. Hodgins and Bernadine Dodge eds. *Using Wilderness: Essays on the Evolution of Youth Camping*

(Peterborough, Ontario: Frost Centre for Heritage Studies, Trent University, 1992), p.5–28. Also of interest is the work of E. Anthony Rotundo, who writes about an autonomous "boy's culture" in nineteenth century America; a culture eventually co-opted and channelled by the Boy Scouts movement, the boys division of the YMCA and others. See his "Boy Culture: Middle Class Boyhood in Nineteenth Century America" in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen ed., *Meanings for Manhood, Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London, 1990, p. 9–36. On the social construction of adolescence, see Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage – Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present*, Basic Books, New York, 1977.

5. A colleague had suggested that he evoke the Indian theme that was ubiquitous in camp culture at the time, but that he avoid an unpronounceable Indian name that "no one can remember." Interview by the author with Bob Murray, February 9, 2005, Georgeville.
6. They were actually draped over a structure which included side walls, an innovation that Ken Murrray made to the standard flat platform design.
7. Some camp workers had originally been lodged in Mrs. Eryou's boarding house, on the road adjacent to the camp. The urban personnel included a nurse, and in the early years, a nutritionist, an art director, and a waterfront director.
8. Almost every women I talked to had a favourite recipe that she remembered: they included cook Eva Pelkie's blueberry pie and Beth (pronounced Bet) Lavoie's "poor man's pudding." Interviews by the author with Janice Dimock, February 22, 2006, Montreal, and with Alta Sheldon, March 11, 2006, Beebe.
9. Interview the author with Bob Alger, March 12, 2006, Stanstead.
10. Interview by the author with Bert Larue, February 24, 2006.
11. The promotional booklet of the camp (circa 1960) mentions this "pioneer" quality.
12. C. Ross Silversides. *Broadaxe to Flying Shear, The Mechanization of Forest Harvesting East of the Rockies*, National Museum of Science and Technology, Ottawa, Canada, 1997, p.22.
13. I could not determine the exact year that this fee was established, but the opening season of 1946 seems to be a likely guess.
14. Interview by the author with Bob Murray, February 16, 2006, Georgeville.
15. Interview by the author with Robert Leopold, March 3, 2006, Montreal.

16. In accordance with the practice of many private camps of the time, Arrowhead printed, in its promotional brochure, the names of parents and guardians of campers in which a number of honorific titles (Gen., Hon., Dr., Q.C., etc.) appeared.
17. About one quarter of the camp's clientele in 1959 had French as a mother tongue, based on the names of campers listed in a list from that year, as well as estimates of associate camp director Bob Murray. Interview by the author with Bob Murray, February 16, 2006, Georgeville.
18. Promotional booklet, Camp Arrowhead, circa 1960
19. Interview by the author with John Adams, March 1, 2006, Montreal.
20. Interview by the author with John Marshall, March 1, 2006, Montreal.
21. Cultivating a relationship with the night woods, and with darkness, was a formative experience for urban boys. Eugene Blanchart told me about a game in the darkness of the hillside woods where excited boys competed to track the hoot of one of the counsellors. The trick was, unbeknownst to the boys, that there were two, not one counsellor calling. Exploring in the dark developed confidence in the natural world in the face of fascination that had a strong edge of fear. Interview by the author with Eugene Blanchart, March 1, 2006.
22. Interview by the author with Robert Leopold, March 3, 2006.
23. The contrived nature of "playing Indian," and the way in which this play consciously avoided confronting the reality of native life is documented in Wall, "Teepees," passim. The Abenakis, the group most closely associated with the region, for instance, were here not one of the assigned tribes, and Indian lore at Arrowhead was a hodgepodge of elements of geographically disparate native groups.
24. Interview by the author with John Adams, March 1, 2006.
25. The Murrays, however, were careful to honour the Christian tradition in the form of weekly meetings in the Camp's outdoor chapel, where in the sixties, Bob Murray led Protestant hymn singing and told impromptu moral anecdotes. Catholic campers were ferried to Sunday mass in Fitch Bay.
26. Interview by the author with René La Bossière, March 4, 2006.
27. Interview by the author with Robert Leopold, March 3, 2006.
28. Interview by the author with Eugene Blanchart, March 1, 2006.

29. Peter Southam, in his article on the economic history of the Townships, argues that the period 1940–1960 marks a lull in regional economic development. See his "Continuity and Change in Eastern Townships Manufacturing Industry," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, no. 18, Spring 2001, 10–11. During this transitional period, therefore, one can speculate that the manual skills that labourers brought to their work at Arrowhead would be very much valued, where elsewhere they would be beginning to be obsolete.
30. Interestingly enough, rural labourer's life itinerary sometimes went in the opposite direction, from industrial labour to wood related work. Rose's brother-in–law, for instance, worked at Penman's underwear factory in Coaticook until it closed. He subsequently moved to Fitch Bay, where he cut wood for a living. Interview by the author with Alice Courtemanche, February 24, 2006.
31. In at least one case Bertie's employer was a widow. Presumably, in other cases husbands were unavailable for woodcutting, stacking, and repairs.
32. Interview by the author with Eugene Blanchart, March 1, 2006.
33. Bertie obviously found this job demeaning. He told me an anecdote about being asked by Mrs. Murray just where he had put the contents of the pit. "I just spread it around the dining hall," he answered. "She was real quiet after that." Interview by the author with Bert Larue, February 24, 2006.
34. To give one example, raspberries were from Melvin Walker's patch in the nearby village of Beebe.
35. Interview by the author with Louise Markwell, March 9, 2006.
36. Interview by the author with Annette Courtemanche, February 28, 2006. Annette, as one of the younger members of the kitchen group during her stay, described her role as that of the "baby" of the group of women.
37. Interview by the author with Annette Courtemanche, February 28, 2006.
38. Interview by the author with Jean (Alger) West, March 12, 2006. Jean mentioned as one of the pleasures of the job the opportunity to learn from and to talk to older women. The schools attended by these girls were: the Fitch Bay consolidated school (English), Notre-Dame-de-Sacré-Coeur also in Fitch Bay, (French), and Princess Elizabeth High School (Magog).
39. Interview by the author with Alta Sheldon, March 11, 2006.
40. Interview with Doreen (Markwell) Phaneuf, March 7, 2006.

41. Interview with Doreen (Markwell) Phaneuf, March 7, 2006.
42. Interview with Jean West, March 12, 2006.
43. Interview with Alta Sheldon, March 11, 2006. In this case again we see a blurring of work and play for rural adolescents. Alta told me that she used her very first pay-cheque to buy crayons and a colouring book.
44. For a discussion of the relative persistence of the model of the working young adult in the countryside (in opposition to a leisure and consumption based model of adolescence, see Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage* p. 246–251.
45. An informal replacement system, I was told, worked admirably.
46. Interview by the author with Louise Warner, March 9, 2006, Fitch Bay.
47. Ubiquitous though he was Bert was a remote figure to the campers, who invariably do not remember him ever talking. Other male workers (a slim minority of the work force, were even more remote. Gilbert Lavoie for instance worked on a part-time basis in the kitchen, with his wife, Beth, doing some of the heavy lifting, especially of the milk cans, which weighed about 100 pounds when full. Important though he was, he was not seen by the boys.
48. Interview with John Marshall. The likelihood is that the man in question, was John Elvidge, a First World War veteran who lived in Fitch Bay. According to Bob Murray, however, he was in full possession of his ten fingers.
49. Interview by the author with Janet Dimock, February 25, 2006. Willy was in all likelihood a short-lived phenomenon, since the camp direction explicitly forbade frightening the boys, and at least one counsellor was dismissed for this reason. Interview with Bob Murray
50. Interview with Doreen (Markwell) Phaneuf, March 7, 2006. This environment of respect was perhaps a combination of the culture of the time this event took place in 1956, and Ken Murray's influence on the boys. To illustrate this point, server Alta Sheldon told me an almost identical story of her slide across the dining room floor – this time to the "hoots and hollers" of the boys. Mr. Murray chastised the boys, telling them that the server could have been badly hurt.
51. Interview by the author with Bob Murray, February 16, 2006.

WHITE DEVIL: A TRUE STORY OF WAR, SAVAGERY, AND VENGEANCE IN COLONIAL AMERICA

by Stephen Brumwell
Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2006.

Reviewed by Claude Leclair
Some University, Somewhere

Abstract

Stephen Brumwell's book titled, *White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery, and Vengeance in Colonial America*, looks mainly at the events leading to and following the devastating October 4, 1759 raid on the Abenaki village of St. Francis (present-day Odanak) by Robert Rogers and his rangers. Brumwell examines the interaction between different cultural groups locked in alliances or in conflict, whose social lives were regulated or influenced by their own distinct societal, political and cultural values. The phenomenon of "cross-cultural interaction" on the frontier separating New France and New England played a very important role in the conduct of diplomacy and warfare. He also underlines the significance of Robert Rogers' innovative tactics as an increasingly more relevant component of British military strategy in North America.

Résumé

L'œuvre de Stephen Brumwell intitulée White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery, and Vengeance in Colonial America, *traite des événements précédant et suivant le raid dévastateur subit par le village abénaki de Saint-François, perpétré le 4 octobre, 1759 par Robert Rogers et ses Rangers. Brumwell examine l'interaction des différents groupes culturels engagés dans des alliances ou des conflits, dont la vie sociale de chacun étaient régie ou influencée par des valeurs sociétales, politiques ou culturelles distinctes. Le phénomène «d'interaction interculturelle» sur le front pionnier séparant la Nouvelle-France et la Nouvelle-Angleterre a joué un rôle très important dans la conduite de la diplomatie et de la guerre. Il souligne également l'impact des tactiques de Robert Rogers en tant que composant de plus en plus pertinent de la stratégie militaire britannique en Amérique du Nord.*

British-born scholar and journalist Stephen Brumwell's book titled, *White Devil: A True Story of War, Savagery, and Vengeance in Colonial America,* is an effective narrative of the events leading to and following the devastating October 4, 1759 raid on the Abenaki village of St. Francis (now Odanak) by Robert Rogers and his Rangers. The successful raid, carried out deep into New France on the banks of the St. Francis River during the Seven Years' War, not only became a celebrated victory in the British colonies and in Britain but also a humiliating defeat for France, New France and their Native allies. It underlined the French colony's inability to defend itself against attacks coming beyond its southern Appalachian frontier. In order to reach the Abenaki mission and carry out this attack, Rogers and his 200 Rangers and Stockbridge Indian allies had to sail northward on Lake Champlain, land on the shore of Missisquoi bay, travel down the St. Francis and cross northward to what is now the Eastern Townships. The expedition's dramatic return trip to New Hampshire across the Eastern Townships' wilderness became the stuff of legend and still strikes the imagination of many today.

From the start, Brumwell succeeds to thrust the reader into a foray of events that will keep them reading on and on. His refined and very entertaining style of writing makes for a gripping, incisive, and very descriptive narrative. The author does not shy away from describing the atrocities and cruelties performed by the belligerents on both sides of the conflict, nor does he cut corners when providing details relating to the suffering endured by Rogers and his men during their many campaigns and missions. Though clearly not aimed at scholars but rather at American colonial history enthusiasts who value narrative, this essay does provide, to some extent, a comprehensive analysis of the events and the players. Brumwell's work is an examination of the interaction of different cultural groups whose lives are each regulated or influenced by their own distinct societal, political and cultural values.

The story begins in 1754 with the dramatic abduction of Susanna Johnson and seven of her household – including her husband and children - by an Abenaki war party, near Fort Number Four (what is now Charleston) in New Hampshire. The long and arduous trek through the forest endured by Mrs Johnson and her family was made even more difficult by the fact that she gave birth the day following her capture, while the party and their prisoners were on their way to the village of St. Francis. Her condition may have led the Abenakis to surprise Mrs Johnson by letting her benefit from a

somewhat more humane treatment. However, Brumwell is quick to point out that what seemed to be pity may have been more linked to finding ways to bring prisoners safely and in relatively good condition to their village in order to be enslaved or adopted by the tribe.

In the first chapter, titled "Conflict and Coexistence," Brumwell uses the Johnsons' journey as prisoners to describe the geography of the Lake Champlain and Richelieu River watershed, and the phenomenon of "cross-cultural interaction" on the frontier separating New France and New England. He takes great pains to describe the British and French fortifications that the Johnsons saw as they were being transported to New France. He introduces the reader to the troublesome but very interesting history of the Abenakis. Traditionally established near the New England coast, the tribe saw some of its members being transplanted in New France, on the banks of the St. Francis River. The acrimonious relations between the Abenakis and English colonists, and the diplomatic games being played by both the French and British to secure Native allies into their respective camps had brought a heavy toll on the Abenakis. Brumwell takes considerable time in describing the social and ethnic composition of the Abenaki population of St. François, which was, over time, being transformed by war, migration and the influx of individuals of origins other than Abenaki. For example, Susanna Johnson's Abenaki master, an important member of the community, was Louis-Joseph Gill, the son of captured New England colonists adopted into the tribe. He also examines the Celtic origins of some of the British settlers moving into the New Hampshire frontier, many of them poor Scotch-Irish from Ulster. One of them was Robert Rogers, born in 1731 in the province of Massachusetts Bay. It is clear that Natives and European colonists, both French and English, did not see themselves as constituents of monolithic sociocultural blocks. Each society experienced the complexities of hosting individuals of various ethnic or cultural origins. This phenomenon does away with the simplistic perspective of monolithic Native and colonial societies, i.e. French, English, and Amerindian. It emphasises a more dynamic, organic and never-ending process of exchanges, disputes and understanding permanently sets in.

Though the raid on the Abenaki mission took place during the later years of the Seven Years' War or French-Indian War, Brumwell clearly considers it linked to a complex web of events in which a somewhat limited number of actors repetitively played crucial roles against each other, and through which the nature changed from

being primarily based on political and ethnic allegiances to becoming increasingly personal. In the second chapter, Brumwell's description of the encounters taking place before the actual outbreak and early years of the war introduces the reader to the many players of both sides who were crucial to the raid and its aftermath. These would include Colonel William Johnson, who would subsequently become Superintendent of Northern Indians, Pierre de Rigaud Marquis de Vaudreuil, New France's last Governor, and most important of all, Robert Rogers. Though Brumwell does not add anything new to our knowledge of Rogers' character and sometimes shady behaviour, he does provide a very vivid description of his *personae*.

The third chapter titled "The Ranging Way of War" concentrates on the military situation of British colonies in 1757 and how the rangers came to be an important part of the New England's military strategy and tactics. The British had in fact failed miserably against the Marquis Louis-Joseph de Montcalm at Fort William Henry on the shores of Lake George, and had not yet moved to strike at the Fortress of Louisbourg on Isle Royale (Cape Breton Island). As Brumwell illustrates, the English colonials' mood was quite grim in early 1758 as the increasing number of British regulars had failed to successfully influence the outcome of the military campaign against New France. In fact, some colonials seriously doubted the regulars' ability to fight on the frontier. It became clear that the only effective troops on the British side had been the American rangers. Consequently, from then on an increasing attention was dedicated to the development of tactical principles that would enable the British military to match and subsequently defeat their French and Native counterparts. This shift in perspective ensured that the "ranging way of war" be promoted within the ranks of British regulars and that some regular troops join ranger units. It fell upon the young captain Robert Rogers to instruct and teach the techniques of guerrilla fighting. Thus, it was in 1757 that Rogers wrote his "Rules of Ranging". Included in one of the Appendices to his book, Brumwell strongly underlines the importance of these rules and how they came to become a relevant component of British military tactics for the remainder of the Seven Years' War. The detailed examination of the "Battle on Snowshoes" in March 1758, just west of Lake George, New York provides a vivid illustration of the hardships endured by both sides. The bitter cold, the deep snow and the harsh realities endured by the combatants underline the difficulties of waging war on the frontier conditions. In addition, Brumwell

takes a close look at Rogers' role during this battle in attempt to make us understand the man's character and personality. Not surprisingly, Rogers is portrayed as a very tough fighter and a courageous and efficient leader capable of tactical originality and quick decision-making. However, Brumwell is quick to pinpoint Rogers' self-serving interpretations of some of his less successful actions or endeavours. An interesting note, the author also brings the reader to appreciate the cultural diversity found within the rangers' rank and file. Though men of "Britain's Celtic fringe" were relatively numerous among rangers, Native Americans and, surprisingly, men of African descent were also included in the rank and file.

In the next chapter, Brumwell looks at the later stages of the British North American campaign. With Jeffrey Amherst as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in the colonies and the "energic presence" of Brigadier-General James Wolfe, things were to change favourably for New France's imperial rival. In July 1758, Amherst had successfully led the siege against Louisbourg. In 1759, Prime Minister William Pitt made it clear from London that the year was to bring forth major military operations against New France and that the rangers were to play an important role. During summer, Amherst's successful northern advance via Lake Champlain saw the fall of Fort Carillon (Fort Ticonderoga) and other French fortifications. By September, Wolfe's army's expedition up the St. Lawrence would eventually bring defeat to Montcalm's army outside the fortified city of Québec on the Plains of Abraham. Though Amherst and Wolfe had been critical of the rangers' composition and their appearance of ill-preparedness for combat, both, however, were willing to have the capable Rogers among their ranks. Indeed, his military prowess had enabled him to be promoted by Amherst's predecessor as Commander-in-Chief of British forces, Major-General Abercromby, who had recognised his success by elevating him to the rank of Major.

Brumwell successfully supports his interpretation and analysis by examining military officers' journals and military reports. He also consults colonial newspaper accounts to provide us hints of the mood of the era. His use of the military correspondence enables him to effectively bring a world-wide imperial conflict to a more personal level. Brumwell helps the reader understand the intricate relations between the different people involved. He also spices up the narrative with anecdotes taken from personal correspondence which reveal much about the characters of men like Robert Rogers, Major-General Amherst, the Marquis of Montcalm and such.

However, the most important and most interesting part of Brumwell's work is found in the three chapters dedicated to the actual preparation, conduct and aftermath of the raid. In this section, the author provides a detailed account on how Robert Rogers convinced superior officers of the value of his plan, organised his expedition and chose his men. Brumwell introduces the reader to some of Rogers' men, many of them who, like him, were of Celtic origins. He goes on to describe the gear and equipment used by Rogers and his crew, whether it be British regular rations or the rangers' own peculiar *accoutrement*, which included newly ordered Indian leggings.

It is also in this section of his book that Brumwell's narrative style and use of evidence are most effective. On September 13, 1759, the same day as Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham, Rogers quit camp from Crown Point to lead his expedition of 200 men towards the Abenaki village of St. François, deep in the heart of New France. Oblivious to the news of Wolfe's and Montcalm's deaths, the red coats' victory against French regulars, Canadian militia and Native allies, Rogers left traveled north more down Lake Champlain and landed ten days later on the shores of Missisquoi Bay to cross various tributaries of the Yamaska River watershed to finally reach the St. Francis river and cross it eastward around today's city of Drummondville. In true British style, the rangers were not using canoes to travel the waterways but whaleboats, which they had to hide once they were no longer on Lake Champlain. These watercraft were ill-suited for the task, however the rangers had little choice for these were standard issue material for both regulars and militia. Having to cross mosquito-infested swamps and sinuously trek 100 miles through mountainous terrain when heading toward St. Francis, Rogers' men narrowly escaped French and Indian patrols that had a feeling that a large raiding party was on the prowl. By September 29th, there was not doubt in the minds of the French that Rogers' party had the intent to strike a severe blow to New France. But the French had no idea where this strike would take place.

If reaching the Abenaki village of St. Francis had been perilous enough, the return trip after the attack was to be most gruelling. Brumwell recounts the harsh suffering endured by Rogers and his men. Knowing that irate Abenakis, Canadians and French were in pursuit of them, it was decided that the party be divided into groups of 20 men in order to avoid getting caught. This decision was to be costly for many of Rogers' men. Some parties were ambushed and

massacred by their pursuers before being able to meet at the rendezvous point on the Connecticut River. Others were forced to eat human flesh in order to survive. According to Brumwell, Rogers' men knew only too well that hunting game would be dangerous to the point of making the rangers' presence conspicuous to the point of risking being captured. Some were reduced to boil and eat leather garments. The gruesome conditions endured by Rogers and his rangers during their flight are well documented. Brumwell aims at exploring the validity of this information and tries to see if these events actually occurred by looking carefully at the reports of those involved.

According to Brumwell, a detailed map prepared by Rogers himself and intended to illustrate his itinerary to General Amherst still exists. It is reportedly very precise and provides detailed information about the expedition. What is most interesting for those of us living in the Eastern Township or northern New England is the author's knowledge of the topography and layout of the area. Any reader who is somewhat familiar with the area's geography will quickly grasp the difficulties endured by the raiders.

The last two chapters look at the aftermath of the raid and its significance on history. They examine how those who survived the raid were able to benefit from it. For instance, Rogers died in London a poor man, but not before remaining loyal to the British Crown during the American Revolution, being able to promote himself and experience relative success through the publication of his memoirs. Other officers, French or British, also lived to fight another day.

On the whole, Brumwell succeeds in bringing to life the events leading and following Rogers' Rangers' raid on the Abenaki village of St. Francis. The quality of the narrative quickly captures the reader's attention and the effective use of the evidence provides a solid basis for discussion. However, numbered endnotes would have been very much appreciated as a complete bibliographical listing of the sources used would have been helpful to the reader. This book is highly recommended for anyone who wishes to learn more about the tragic raid and understand its social, ethnic, cultural and historical legacy.

LUMBERING, HOUSE PARTIES AND FIDDLE MUSIC: AN OVERVIEW OF THE ORAL HISTORIES IN THE IAN TAIT COLLECTION (P163)

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Archivist, Eastern Townships Research Centre

This past Christmas, like every Christmas, my mother's extended family had a large get-together where, as always, a lot of talking, reminiscing, and eating went on. This particular celebration consists of the large extended families of my grandfather and his two brothers. As we gather around the table, it usually does not take much prompting for one of them to launch into stories of their younger years. Over the years, I have come to appreciate the stories told by my grandfather's generation. However, they always leave me wondering how many more stories and family anecdotes are lying in wait until something or someone prompts them to the surface. Comparatively, the lives and stories of my grandparents cover a time that could be considered relatively recent by history's standard. Nonetheless, I found myself fascinated by their anecdotes of life experiences that are so unlike my own. In preparing this article for the Archives Section of *JETS*, I have found myself similarly engrossed in the narratives found in the archives of the ETRC. The oral histories cover a range of topics, from a range of people and time periods.

Although oral histories are fascinating as simple anecdotes of the past, they can also be used as sources in historical analysis. According to Donald A. Ritchie, author of *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, oral history "accounts can actually be informative, offering their analysis in a vivid and colourful manner and enlivening a narrative, often with a touch of humour." "Although anecdotal information has a personal flavour, the collected stories from a group reinforce each other and show common threads in the lives of the group's members."[1] Even within the few transcript excerpts that appear below, it is possible to see common experiences surface through the speakers' narratives.

The ETRC Archives has over 600 oral histories in its archival holdings; some recorded on video cassette and the majority on audio cassette tapes. For the most part, the oral histories are part of a few fonds and collections: the Tom Martin fonds (P059), the Eastern Townships Heritage Foundation fonds (P020), the University Women's Club- Sherbrooke and District fonds (P023) and the Ian Tait Collection (P163). However, in the Ian Tait Collection alone, there are approximately 450 tapes. Comprised almost solely of recorded oral histories, the Ian Tait Collection works well to briefly introduce the wealth of information that is provided through this unique type of source. The Ian Tait Collection is a recent acquisition to the ETRC archives, received in September 2006. The son of Thomas Tait and Kathleen Eadie, Ian Tait was born in Granby in 1947. After graduating from high school, he traveled extensively, particularly in parts of Europe. Upon returning to the Eastern Townships, he pursued undergraduate studies at Bishop's University, obtaining a B.A. in English in 1976 and went on to receive a M.A. in Comparative Literature from the Université de Sherbrooke. A prominent member of the local academic community, Ian Tait was well-respected among both the students and professors at Champlain Regional College in Lennoxville, where he taught a number of courses in English and Humanities for over two decades. Additionally, he was very involved in the English-as-a-Second-Language programs offered in the area. Ian Tait was also a regular contributor to CBC radio for various topics, including Eastern Townships history. Among his wide-ranging interests were First Nations peoples and Eastern Townships folklore. He passed away April 21, 2005, at the age of 57, in Sherbrooke, Québec.

A portion of the oral histories in the Tait Collection were those conducted by Tait for his own research projects as he sought to shed light on and to preserve the history and folklore of the Eastern Townships, in particular the Gaelic communities. The majority of the rest of the collection consists of oral histories conducted by Champlain students as part of their course work with Ian Tait. Unfortunately, these invaluable sources are recorded in a format that significantly limits their lifespan and puts them at a high risk for information loss. Most specialists estimate the lifespan of magnetic tape, including video cassettes and audio cassettes, to be approximately 30 years. Even now, we have numerous items that have already reached the 30-year mark. For this reason, it is increasingly important to embark on a project to transfer these recordings to new media. In the coming year, the ETRC Archives Department

will be pursuing the digitization of a portion of our audio-visual collection in order to insure that it will be preserved for the future. As the final objective of this project, the ETRC hopes to make a selection of the oral interviews available through the ETRC website. In an effort to illuminate these wonderful sources, sections of few interviews are presented below. Enjoy!

Sam Hopper was born on February 15, 1899 in Wilson's Mills. In 1921, he moved to Huntingville where he and his brother bought a farm; they also worked at the Veneer factory in Waterville. In the 1940s, he and his wife, Evelyn, moved to Waterville where he ran a sawmill. As a child, Sam Hopper learned to play the violin and began to play at parties at age 12. In 1945, he began to participate in amateur shows with Norman Masters. Soon after, they formed a band along with Sam Hopper's wife, Albert Nutbrown and Stuart Deacon. For about 30 years, the group played at weddings and dances in the Eastern Townships and was on the radio for 25 years. Sam Hopper died on March 29, 1980. Mr. Hopper was interviewed by Ian Tait in 1979, at his home in Waterville.

S.H.[2] I was born in Wilson's Mills on February 15, 1899. Father had three farms there, south up the Palmer River and we had a mile and three-quarters to walk to school. I remember well the cold mornings, in fact my left ear was froze so much that now it is just like a piece of leather. There is no give to it. I pretty near lost it at that time. But anyway, I didn't get too much schooling because father had a big farm and there was so much work to do that I was kept home an awful lot.

I.T. What kind of work did you do?

S.H. What we was doing choring and haying. It seems incredible now but I started to mow by hand when I was eight years old, because we had it in our mind, if we were going to keep it [the farm], that we had to work – we knew that. Father and mother gave us great encouragement. My father's people came from Northern Ireland, Monahan Ireland.

I.T. What year did they come over?

S.H. It was, I'd have to look it up, but I think it was somewhere around 1830. Very, very early, because a lot of the ones that came over on that boat died. They took typhoid fever. In fact

my great-grandfather, he came over here with three of his brothers and shortly after they settled in East Broughton, that's where they came up from Québec, and settled where it was all rocks and two of the brothers took sick and died with typhoid fever shortly after they arrived in East Broughton. He kept them in a shed until the spring and got an ox-cart, put the two bodies on and took them to Québec and they are buried in a cemetery just on the other side of the Québec Bridge.

I.T. Where did your mother's people come from?

S.H. Mother's people came from Edinburgh, Scotland. In fact, some of her uncles were very high up in education.

I.T. Did she come over directly from Scotland?

S.H. No, it was her grandparents that came over.

I.T. Do you have any idea when they arrived in Canada?

S.H. No, I have not, but it would be somewhere around the same time as different immigrants came.

I.T. So, that would go back maybe in the 1830s.

S.H. Yes, about the 1830s. I have the whole history here and I have the Bibles that came from Ireland and everything that is a way back there – if I took time I could hunt it up. It was back in them years.

I.T. How many were there in your family?

S.H. There were seven of us kids. I heard mother saying when she moved onto the farm that it was all woods. Father cut the first trees and at night you could hear the bears calling; she used to be scared. Then later on he put up a barn and a house. Later on he put up another house – the first was log – he put up a modern house and also a modern barn. In fact, when we sold there in 1921, we had pretty near a village of buildings. The barn was 140 feet long, two stories, two driveways in it, and a stable the full length of that and we were handling, at that time, about 80 head. Father had started and cut the first tree that was cut on the land, and, at that time, we had cleared and broke up about 125 acres. We cleared about 180 altogether on the farm.

I.T. That is hard work.

S.H. Well, I guess it was but father was a small little man and an awful worker. Then the oldest of the family was three girls and the four last ones was boys. I was interested, and so was my

brother, in music very much.

I.T. Where did you get that interest?

S.H. That came natural because I have the history here that, back in Scotland, some of the great-relations there was very musical. I have the history of that, so it was born, I guess, in me and I had my uncles on my mother's side was very, very musical. I had one old uncle there, he was very anxious for me to learn to play the fiddle and through him that I got quite good tunes that I used to whistle. At that time, we had no radios or television or anything like that so what we could pick up if we went to a wedding or went to a dance, I could come home with two new tunes.

I.T. So, you learned a tune by whistling?

S.H. Yes, oh yes. And also, the fiddle was the music that I liked. As I said, there in another interview, when I would hear a good player on the fiddle there, that you had to dance whether you could dance or not, it pretty near made you dance. So when –

I.T. When did you get your first fiddle?

S.H. The first fiddle, I was eleven years old and my brother was thirteen. And we sent to Eaton's for a $5 fiddle complete with instructions and everything. When it came we, of course, went to tune it up and tightened the high strings too much, and down went the bridge and broke in two. So we had to glue it, we had to leave it for twenty-four hours for to get the bridge glued

and we couldn't get any noise out of the fiddle with the bow. We'd rub it across with the rosin that was with it, but it wouldn't catch the strings at all. So, I walked out three miles to a fellow that played the fiddle, Dave McHarg, and asked him what was the trouble. He just took his fingernail and scratched the rosin, run the bow over it a few times, and that was all that was needed. We got set up but the question was my brother, he wanted to learn and I wanted to learn, and it was who could get the chores done first and get the fiddle. Whoever could, would keep it a good two hours or more. Many's the time the last fellow, which was usually me because my older brother was stronger and bigger, and many's the time that father would holler out from their bedroom and say, 'Put that thing away and come to bed'. And it was no wonder, when I look back there now, it's a wonder that he'd let us in the house. But this uncle that I had, he encouraged me very much, he said I was doing well, "You're doing well." The first dance that I played for was almost a year after we got the fiddle.

I.T. When you were twelve years old?

S.H. Yes. And it was out at a neighbour's about two miles away – Willie Suitor's. There was no piano or organ or anything, I had to play alone. They said they had a good dance and they told me that I did awful well, and that helped out a whole lot. But then after that, when I commenced to play some there, I was asked to go and help out at other dances. On the other side of Palmer River from where we lived, the most of them were Irish. It just makes me sick when I hear about the Irish fighting there – the Catholics and Protestants. With the way them Irish folks used me; I'd be probably the only Protestant there and they couldn't do enough for you. Many's the night that they would come after we were in bed and come to the door, want me and ask if I could come and help out to play at one of the farm houses there that were having a dance. And I would always get up and go and help them out. I remember, my mother died fairly young, at sixty, and just shortly after she died, they came there one night and wanted me to go and I didn't feel like going, and father said, 'Yes, you go ahead. Your mother, if she were living, would want you to go.' So I went. Well, then, years after that, after we came up there and I started up the orchestra, I was asked, was hired, to go down to a big

hotel below Leeds Village – they could accommodate three weddings at one time – and we went down, we promised to go down for five Friday nights. And we went down there and the place was crowded with young people from Leeds, St. Sylvester, near our old place. And when it came intermissions time, I got no intermission because these young people came [up]; they had promised their father and their mother that they'd come up and tell me who their father and mother was. And anyway, I signed autographs there and one thing and another – it was time to go ahead and the other boys went ahead and I was still signing autographs. That was the pay that I got for when I was a kid going and helping out, you see. Then another thing that helped us here after we formed the orchestra –

I.T. Now, just before we get jumping ahead too much there, when did you move away from Leeds?

S.H. 1921. Mother died in 1919 and home never was the same after that. And in 1921 we moved up and bought a farm. Another brother of mine, Earl Hopper there and we bought the farm together.

I.T. And where was that?

S.H. That was in Huntingville. I was very near going to the States. I had an uncle in Worcester [Massachusetts] that was a carpenter and had no family. He always said, "Sam, if ever you get tired of the farm, come out, I wish you would come live in with me, I'd like to have you." And, anyway, after we sold the farm, I decided that I would go out there. So I went and wrote a letter – was writing a letter – when father come in and he said, "Who are you writing to?" And I said, "I'm writing to Uncle John Woodington in Worcester, I'm telling him that I'll be out next Friday." So he went over and sat down and started to cry, and he told me, "I always wanted for to live with you, Sam," and he said, "I can't go down to Worcester.' I thought over a while and I went and got up, took the letter, tore it up and put it in the stove and we decided to come up here. My brother Earl and I worked in Waterville, here in a factory there at the time.

I.T. In what kind of factory?

S.H. Veneer factory there at that time, and we were out looking every weekend, Sundays, at farms. So anyway, on July 6th that summer we bought the farm in Huntingville.

[Interview continues]

William Lavallee and Mary Lavallee (née Smith) were interviewed by Ian Tait October 25, 1979 in Sherbrooke. Both William and Mary Lavallee were born in Valcartier, Québec; William was born on April 2, 1896 and Mary was born on January 1, 1899. Mr. Lavallee died in 1983 and Mrs. Lavallee died in 1996. Both are buried in Sherbrooke.

[Interview begins with preliminary questions]

I.T.[3] Ok, now I understand, Mr. Lavallee, that you're a singer – as a matter of fact, you're quite well known for it.

W.L. Well, I never was recommended in this area as a singer, but I have sung some, to keep my kids quiet and things like that. But I also have sung a little bit at some parties that we had around the country.

I.T. I guess, in the old days, by way of entertainment, house parties were important things?

W.L. House parties were our only pleasure.

I.T. What was a house party?

W.L. A house party was taking all the furniture, very rarely were there any rugs on the floor, so all you had to do was take what furniture was in that room, to sit on and tables and get a fellow with a violin. I used to play a violin myself and go dancing.

I.T. What kind of dancing did they do?

W.L. Square dancing. For years and years, now they do all kinds of dancing.

I.T. But in those days … [Trails off]

W.L. Same as they do anywhere, they most all go to towns now to dance.

I.T. But in those days it was mostly square dances?

W.L. It was all done in your living room – they all had large living rooms and nobody refused – they seemed to take it just fine. "We'll have it at my house tonight and yours in a few nights." Dances were regular and we really enjoyed it – people today wouldn't think much of it.

I.T. It was one of the few times that, I guess, people got to visit?

W.L. That's right. They were busy, but they took everything out that was in it. They went to the party just before dark and they came home in daylight.

I.T. Daylight?

W.L. That true.

I.T. So they used to party awful hard, did they?

W.L. Get that old violin from dark to daylight, many, many nights.

M.L. They'd have lunch at midnight.

I.T. What do you mean by lunch – what kind of …?

M.L. Oh, they'd have cold meat and bread and sometimes a real meal – pie and cake.

I.T. Now, they used to sing at these parties, also did they?

W.L. They used to get one bedroom for the older ones – the younger ones that danced never went into that room at all; they could go to the door. That was for the old boys and there was the odd glass sitting around if you get what I mean!

I.T. I get exactly what you mean. [Laughs]

M.L. And there was never any liquor in the dance room.

I.T. Really?

W.L. No.

I.T. I see, this was just where the men were singing?

M.L. The room for the older men and they would sing there and they would treat one another, but the liquor wouldn't be brought in the dance room where the younger were.

W.L. It was all the old white whiskey. You'd have to reduce it by two, 'bout as much water as there was High Wines to make a good stiff drink.

I.T. Pretty strong stuff then?

W.L. Oh yes.

I.T. Ok, can you remember any of the songs from those days at all? Would you sing me a few?

W.L. You mean that were created? Like that – at that particular time? No, these were all older, these were all being sung in my days.

I.T. Ok, I see, how would you like to sing them?

W.L. These are 100 years old.

I.T. How would you like to sing one of those?

W.L. Yes, I'll sing one of those.

M.L. Charlie Wolf.

W.L. Yes, Charlie Wolf, that's the first one I sang to you.

I.T. Ok, now would you explain the song a little bit, what's it about?

W.L. Yes, well, there was very little to do, and they always had quite big families and a big majority of young men. And those boys would start out, two to four of them together, and they'd go to different places they knew were doing lumbering concerns. And of course, this one would get their oxen, there was shipping, eh.

M.L. This is Charlie Wolf.

W.L. Yes, Charlie Wolf and my Uncle Tom, they went to Wisconsin and I had some uncles there that had been there the year before, lumbering.

I.T. When did they go out to Wisconsin – what year, do you remember of that?

W.L. '84 that these two boys went out.

M.L. 1881.

W.L. 1881. And these other fellows was out before that, they're out there and built the shacks – maybe five years, some ten years. Well, that's – there was sawmills there too – they cut their lumber.

I.T. Ok, give me the song.

W.L. You've got all the information. These boys used to go there for the winter and come home, back to Valcartier in the spring and they would go on the river drives and bring lumber down to a mill at their home in Valcartier.

I.T. Ok, so sing the song.

W.L. Alright.

M.L. You'd better say that Charlie Wolf wrote the song.

I.T. Charlie Wolf wrote the song did he?

W.L. Charlie Wolf wrote the song, yes. And I'll give you my name too. This is Bill Lavallee. I'm going to sing you a very old song composed by Charlie Wolf, a fellow who's heading for the woods for the winter and here's what the song says. [Sings song]

W.L. This old song I learned when I was quite young, it's quite old now. The name of it is Howard Keery – so it goes, it starts like this [Sings song: Howard Keery]

I.T. Ok, can you tell me a little about the river drive?

W.L. I was going to tell you about the river drive, the old river that run across the front of our farm, and every spring they had quite a large group of men to bring this lumber, probably thirty, forty miles down that river. Some parts of it were very, very rough, other parts of it were very nice and smooth. At night those fellows, quite a large tent there – they had very good cooks and could make beautiful beans because, in fact, I've sampled their beans there [Laughs]. A bunch of us young fellows used to follow them fellows for twenty miles to hear them sing and used to be the old Jacques Cartier River – was the name of the river.

I.T. They used to sing well?

W.L. They sang very well – and it was every night – we enjoyed it

very much.

I.T. Now, were they mostly French Canadian singing?

W.L. Yes, they were all French Canadian.

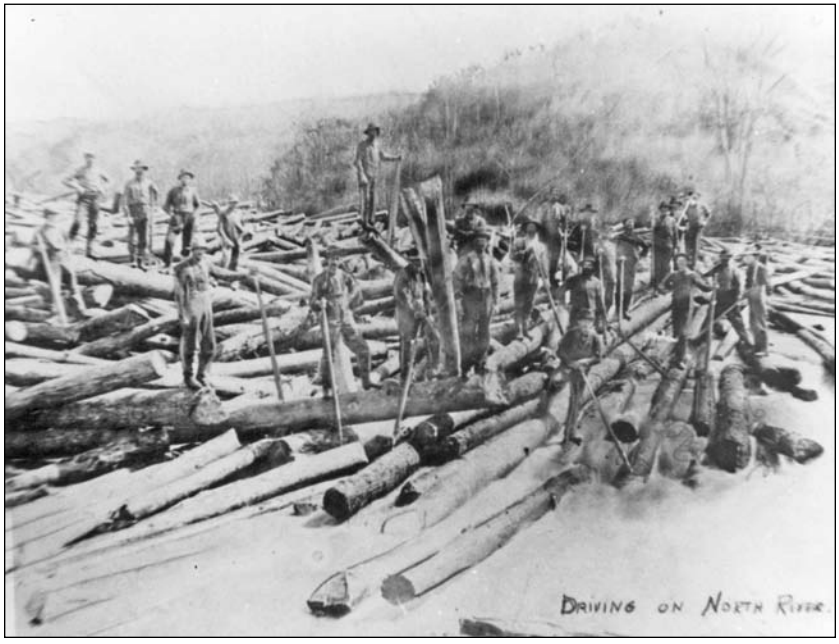
M.L. You used to go on the drive yourself.

W.L. I used to go on the river drives.

I.T. About what was that like?

W.L. You've got to be able to swim to be safe, you know. I was a boat man – last twice I was on, I was on a boat, a six man boat. You had one oar, the fellow sitting beside you had another – two more with oars next to you. One man up front and one man in the rear. We used to break the jams in the rapids; there'd be a bunch of pulp wood collect and build up into a small mountain there. You'd had to come down one side of that and the water was very fast, you know, and just when you got pretty near to the bottom – you'd paddled up river all you could – your head man would head your boat in behind this. As soon as he got in behind that, there was no pressure at all – your boat would sail around in there. Well, we'd get our boat all set and we'd – a few of us would climb the side of that –

I.T. Get right up on the jam?



W.L. Yes and start rolling sticks out and they'd roll off and float away. You never knew, you were warned to watch yourself and head for the boat. So we did that, we succeeded very often, but one time we came – this boat came down, was just making the turn and the tail end of it hit a rock. That boat went over like that.

I.T. It turned right over?

W.L. Yes, six men there in the water. There was a fellow on the rear end, he had a long rope on the back of his – he was OK, he never let go, but the rest, the fellow in the front, he hung on the front. It had had a bow on it about, I would say 10 feet high, and this poor bugger hung on, never let go and he went down 10 or 12 feet and then he'd go up in the air – it never stopped rolling. I could swim, but when I got up, the bottom was turned straight up. I was good enough to get up on the top of that on my hands and knees – all I had was a white inside shirt on – it was a hot day. They always called me the frog after that. I was just sitting there like a frog. But I didn't sit there very long it would hit another rock and roll over. The other boat, there was a pair of boats, you see, they saw us coming and they knew we was in trouble. They come rushing up to the foot of the rapids and they were getting very close to us, there was one heavy fellow got round, got on my back and do you think I could get loose from that fellow. He'd of drowned me but the propeller from our boat – the great long flagpoles, he swung that pipe pole through to me and I grabbed the pipe pole and that saved my life – he held me above water, you see. Another fellow, we couldn't see him no where. There was a big Irish fellow, Ed MacAuley, all at once his arm went down and grabbed him by the hair of the head – he had lovely golden hair – it was luck for him it was long hair and he said, "By god, I got you Hurly." That was Hurly.

I.T. And he pulled him right out of the water by his hair?

W.L. I got him and put him into the other boat. That was about three o'clock in the afternoon on a Sunday so the foreman said everybody to [inaudible] no more work today.

I.T. So, they saved all your lives? That's awful lucky. That must have been dangerous.

W.L. Next morning, got up and there was two of our men that wouldn't go back – still hadn't broken the jam. I went back and the first try we made – we didn't have the same man in

front, we got Killey – he was in the front of the boat and he just walked that boat up there and we had that thing broken up in no time.

I.T. That must have been dangerous work.

W.L. It was dangerous work- you were always keyed up.

I.T. It must have been exciting – that's for sure. Ok –

W.L. Here's that other song. [Sings song: Old Mickey Branigan's Pup]

I.T. Ok, Mr. Lavallee, I understand you used to work in the camp, did you?

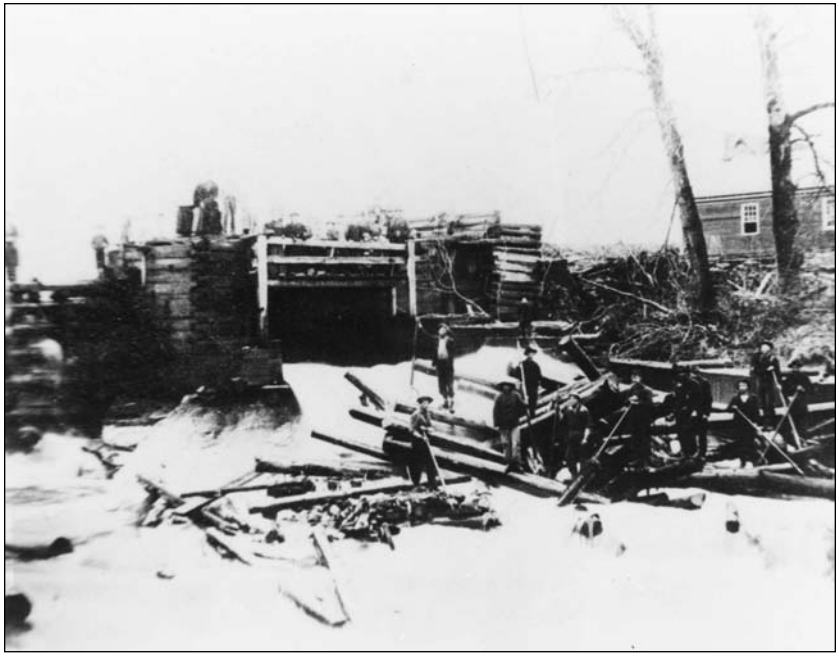
W.L. Yes, I've worked a few winters in the lumber camp and I'll tell you a little bit about it. The first thing we did – we started quite early in the fall – I would say early as the first of November and we took all our food in and everything we thought we'd need. The walking was good or we could run canoes in the rivers – had several rivers to cross. You had to probably go fifty miles – sometimes sixty miles and we got to cart all that in on our backs. They would start you off with a fifty-pound box of tea and end up with a 120-pound bag of beans. And it didn't bother you any more than the tea did on the start. You did that first. After that you started to cut pulp wood, four-foot long, pile it up four feet high, it didn't matter what length of a pile you had – had to be four foot high so they could measure it. You got so much a cord for ever cord you cut.

I.T. Do you remember how much you were paid?

W.L. No, I don't. I've forgotten, what we're paid then. Not too bad because we were so far back, and they fed us a lot of beans and a lot of moose meat. Get a moose there, where ever you wanted one – there was no laws of any kind. When we were short of moose meat, the boss would tell a fellow, he had a bobsled, a horse and a rifle, and he'd just go off and in about an hour he'd be back trailing a moose behind him. We had no trouble there. And then salt pork – we never were out of that and they always had a good cook – pretty rugged bunch in the spring when we were through.

I.T. How many people were in the camp, altogether?

W.L. I guess there'd be about thirty, would be a good size camp, you know.



M.L. You didn't tell them about the pump line on your head.

W.L. Well, that was in –

M.L. Yes, you didn't tell them that.

W.L. It was a pump line, ever carry a pump line?

I.T. Yes, a pump line across your forehead to equalize the weight.

W.L. That's the way we carried anything you could carry like that. And we had resting places every so far, I would say, every mile and you had to carry your load for eight miles and deliver and walk back to camp, that was your day's work. It got so we were able to get back about three o'clock or three thirty and we had the rest of the day free. The first day we were late enough getting back. They had stands built so that you could back up, with the pump line on your head, back up and let your shoulders and let your load down on this platform and rest.

I.T. Take the weight off the pump line. And when you were living in the camp, how early did you get up in morning?

W.L. Well, right around six – before we would get the yell and the cook would be up long before that.

I.T. What would you have for breakfast?

W.L. Well, beans were every meal – and brown bread. Never any-

thing fancy – but when you're working hard, you always have enough.

I.T. What was it like, you used to sleep in a bunk house, did you?

W.L. We slept in a log cabin, all – it was good size logs and two heights of bunk, one bunk that high above the floor and the other one above it – two, three feet …

I.T. It would be one row of bunks along the wall?

W.L. Along the wall – they'd give you your six and a half feet for length, or if you was bigger they'd have some longer ones, you know. And they were straw – that's what we'd lay on, put blankets over it. It was funny, at night sometimes, squirrels used to get in and climb around on the walls. They'd probably crawl right across your head some nights, you didn't know what in the devil was wrong. But we got used to it.

I.T. What was it like at night, once your work was done, what did you do?

W.L. Play cards.

I.T. Used to play cards?

W.L. Yes, play cards and we used to do tricks on the floor.

I.T. Now, what do you mean by that?

W.L. Acrobatic tricks.

I.T. Oh really, did they ever have any –

W.L. That was none of them very spectacular.

I.T. Did they ever do any singing in the camps?

W.L. Yes, sang in the camps. But we had to go to bed early, they made you go early – they'd turn the lights out – not too late. I think it was about nine.

[Interview continues]

Harria McLeod (née MacDonald) was born in Scots-Weedon, Gould on February 27, 1898 and passed away in 2002. She was the wife of Kenneth McLeod. Mrs. McLeod was interviewed by Ian Tait in Scotstown on February 15, 1980.

[Interview begins with preliminary questions]

I.T.[4]- Now, you were saying that you're from the Town of Weedon, they call that Scotch Weedon. There's also a poem about Scotch Weedon?

H.M. That's the Scotch Weedon Girls.

I.T. And who's that one by?

H.M. Bertha MacDonald.

I.T. And that's a cousin of your husband's?

H.M. Yes.

I.T. Could you please recite that one?

H.M.

Have you ever been to Weedon
On t'other side the River?
I am sure you'll be quite welcome
If you just possess a Fliver.

The roads are always very good,
A car or carriage through them whirls
They are kept in this condition
To accommodate the girls.

Any girls who ever lived there,
Always speak of all it's joys
The only drawback they will mention
Is a scarcity of boys.

And if in passing through there
You ever chance to wait
You will find the girls, if dark or fair
Are very up to date.

Perhaps some Sunday afternoon,
When you're off on your vacation
You may take a drive to Weedon
To visit a relation.

Maude you'll be surprised to find
Just a little might be impatient,
I'll explain and ease your mind,
She is waiting for the agent.

There is music on a Sunday night
For which she always listens,
Is had a subtle charm for her
That "honk, honk" in the distance.

Or perhaps that it is Ebbie
Who is driving her with Buster,
They are likely to meet Harria
Who is out with Ray and Custer.

Harria many other times we see
Driving at an awful clip
And immediately we know
That it's Tony speeding "Gyp".

Going farther on the way
We find Bonnie at MacLean's
He says he'll work hard every day
If he'll get Annie for his pains.

Christie often says she's going
To refuse every chance
Until Duncan softly begs her
To be mistress of the manse

Effie very prim and staid
Declares she won't share their fate,
Says she sure will be an old maid
Or get some one in the States.

Hanna is still going to school
Studying the work of masters
But not for long or I'm a fool
If Howard keep selling plasters.

And yet there is another way
I don't know which she'll take
They say that Talbot with the "grey"
Drives ten miles for her sake.

Mary tired of teaching
For a home went out to look,
After driving through the county
She decided on the "Brook".

And to Stewart who kneeled ten times to her
She every times said nix
There never was another
Could compare with thirty-six.

Margaret drives all horses
From a work-horse to a pacer
But she never wants to see a car
Except a Hudson or a racer.

Quite different to the school girl,
Who often played at hookie
I think she'd be a red cross nurse
If it wasn't just for Rookie.

How I'd love to nurse the soldiers,
Be they English, French or German,
But I'd love a million time more
A proposal from Pat Sherman.

Failing to get this proposal
And looking very thin and pale,
For the summer the composer
Is to teach in Echo Vale.

—By Bertha E. MacDonald, school year 1915–1916

I.T. Now, I take it all the people mentioned in the poem, they were actual individuals.

H.M. They were girls in Scotch Weedon.

I.T. I know in this area they used to have what they called the Gaelic bards – they used to write songs about local people and so forth. These poems in English, was this a local tradition that was kept up also?

H.M. Yes, just put a few words together that would rhyme and there were a lot of people in the community – a lot when I was

going to school – even in the school they would compose poems over every little detail.

I.T. And they were always sort of humorous?

H.M. Yes.

[Recites other poems]

I.T. You were saying about the singing?

H.M. In my young days, young people in the neighbourhood would come in the evening and we had an organ in the house, my sister would play the organ and we'd have sing-songs. Sometimes it would be hymns, sometimes it would be songs or maybe somebody would sing a Gaelic song, that was able to sing in Gaelic. That was our televisions and radios, but today they don't have to do that for entertainment.

I.T. Do you remember, when you were a girl, was there much community get-togethers?

H.M. Yes, evenings.

I.T. Could you talk to me a bit about that?

H.M. Visiting, exchanging news – there was no radios – and sing-songs. I had an uncle, my father's brother, he played the violin and somebody would chord on the organ and a bunch of us would get together out in the kitchen and push the table to one side and start dancing.

I.T. What kind of dancing would you do?

H.M. Oh, well, waltz and later, when I was older we used to go to the town hall and dance. The Foxtrot and the One-step and the modern dances.

I.T. Did people do much step-dancing?

H.M. Oh yes, – square dances and quadrilles – they were a lot of fun.

I.T. Where did they used to hold those?

H.M. In the town hall, in Gould.

I.T. Who would that be sponsored by?

H.M. Some of the young people of the town that wanted to have a get-together, a dance, they'd advertise a dance to be held in the Gould town hall on Friday night and they'd have an orchestra, sometimes from Sherbrooke, sometimes from Cookshire – Planche's orchestra used to come out from Cookshire. Sometimes just local- violins and piano and perhaps a guitar or something like that.

[Interview continues]

Curtis Ross was interviewed by Ian Tait in Bulwer, January 8, 1980. Curtis Ross was born May 25, 1903 and grew up in Bury. He was a blacksmith and a farmer. Mr. Ross passed away in 1986.

[Interview begins with discussion of local folklore and remedies]

I.T.[5] Talk to me about the dances a bit – where were they held?

C.R. They were held in the Odd Fellows Hall in Bury, right next to the blacksmith shop where I worked for 10 years, for four different bosses.

I.T. Do you remember what kind of dancing they used to do?

C.R. Well, they had all mixed dances; square dances, round dances, waltzes, gallows. Five steps, one steps, jersey, military chartiz, you name it and they most always had it.

I.T. What kind of orchestra did they have to play?

C.R. Violin and piano and maybe a banjo.

I.T. Would they be local people?

C.R. Yes, and then we used to go over to Brookbury – they had a community hall there and they used to have a dance there. In the winter time we'd go in just our jackets – heavy clothes that we'd wear in the woods in the winter time, lumberman felts and makinaw pants – have a great time. Mark James from Bury, Angus Hodge from Bury and I think Tommy Rollins from Bury, too, played the banjo.

I.T. Now that's something nobody's mentioned to me yet – there weren't very many banjo players, were there?

C.R. There was another fellow by the name of Burny Ross that played the banjo too.

I.T. Can you remember what kind of banjo was it? Did it have five strings or four strings?

C.R. I wouldn't say – I don't know. Never paid any attention to it – I was happy to have the music and I forget.

I.T. Tell me something else; was the harmonica ever much of an instrument?

C.R. Not too much.

I.T. The basis of the whole thing would be the fiddle music?

C.R. Yes, but we used to have some wonderful times over there at the Brookbury Community Hall.

C.R. Violin – Mark James played the violin and Angus Hodge played the piano and Rollins played the banjo and then Ronny Poor – once in a while – he'd play the bones as they called it.

I.T. What's that?

C.R. Ribs out of a cow, or something – had two of them, holding them in his fingers, like that.

I.T. Sort of like they used spoons?

C.R. Same thing as a spoon, except these was bones.

I.T. Now, other social gatherings, did the church ever put on any kind of get-togethers?

C.R. Oh yes, we used to put on plays. I've been in several plays – put them on in Bury and then you'd go to Cookshire or Corner –

I.T. Oh, you'd travel around with these?

C.R. Afterwards, yeah. We used to have a great time.

I.T. Really? What kind of plays would they have? I've never heard of anything about this before.

C.R. Well, I don't know – but one I was in was the "Uncle's Niece" and –

I.T. What were they, mostly comedies?

C.R. Yes, they were royalty plays. We had to pay royalties for them and then we had to hire our makeup and our masks, or whatever it might be. And then, one night at the hall, I guess I'd been out the night before and we had practice and I was a bit sleepy and I went and laid down behind the old box stove and fell asleep and they went out and left me there. And some of them got outside and said "Where's Ross?" "I don't know, must be inside, somewhere." Lucky for me, they come back in and woke me up and took me out.

[Section of interview omitted for this article]

I.T. Tell me a little about this snowshoe club?

C.R. Well, we used to meet once a week. I think it was once a week and we'd go for a tramp and come back and have a big, huge supper of some kind of supper and a dance after, for an hour and a half – two hours snow shoe tramp. There was always some that would stay behind and get the meal ready for us.

I.T. How many people were involved in that?

C.R. Fifty, seventy-five maybe – had quite a good club there. That was held in the Oddfellows Hall, right next to the blacksmith shop.

I.T. Were the Orangemen ever very strong?

C.R. I'm an Orangman now – you're talking to one!

I.T. Well, tell me about the Orangemen.

C.R. I don't know as I could tell you much about them – but we're getting weaker every day – same as every lodge. We had quite a big lodge here; one time we had twenty-seven to thirty members. But now we've got down to five or six – we amalgamated with Sawyerville. And now we just have enough for a quorum to meet.

I.T. Now, tell me exactly what is the Orangemen. I don't know anything about it. Sam told me a bit about. They used to have –

C.R. Waterville used to have a lodge –

I.T. He was telling me down around Leeds – they used to have an Orange Day celebration.

C.R. They do. They still have that around the 12th of July, every year.

I.T. Now, explain that to me. What is an Orange Day celebration?

C.R. Well, it's been a tradition for years – five or six different lodges down there they have the bands and everything – just the drums and the pipes. They all meet down there – most generally at Kinnears Mills and then they march up to the grove – the Orange Grove there. Gertrude Scot, she owned this piece of land, nice sugar bush on there, and that's where they used to meet.

[Section of interview omitted for this article]

I.T. So, the blacksmith shop was like a meeting place?

C.R. A gathering place on a wet day, or anything like that. Tell their yarns.

I.T. That must have been nice.

C.R. Dr. Gendreau from Sherbrooke, he used to come out through here, years ago, when he was younger man. He used to most always stop in the shop and he'd say "Ross, you're the luckiest man I know. I always wanted to be a blacksmith or a fireman and I'm neither one but, you've got your place here, you've got a few cattle, few pigs, few hens and some horses and a blacksmith shop." He said, "You're lucky, do you realize it?" "Well," I said, "I'm happy."

I.T. Few people can say that.

[Interview continues]

NOTES

1. Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. pp. 121-2.
2. Sam Hopper interviewed by Ian Tait, 1979, Waterville, Québec (tape P163/001.11/002A, in P163 Ian Tait Collection, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
3. William Lavallee and Mary (Smith) Lavallee interviewed by Ian Tait, October 25, 1979, Sherbrooke, Québec (tape P163/001.12/004 in P163 Ian Tait Collection, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
4. Harria (MacDonald) McLeod interviewed by Ian Tait, February 15, 1980, Scotstown, Québec (tape P163/001.02/001 in P163 Ian Tait Collection, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).
5. Curtis Ross interviewed by Ian Tait, January 8, 1980, Bulwer, Québec (tape P163/001.07/001 in P163 Ian Tait Collection, Eastern Townships Research Centre, Sherbrooke, Québec).

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Eve Lerner had a variety of occupations since moving to the Fitch Bay area in 1987, including those of farm labourer and educator. A graduate of Concordia University, she has worked in the area of Jewish working class culture in Montreal between the two World Wars. Her thesis was entitled Making and Breaking Bread in Jewish Montreal: 1920–1940. One of her current interests is the oral history of francophones in the Stanstead region.

Elizabeth Jewett grew up in Vale Perkins on the shores of Lake Memphremagog in the Eastern Townships. She completed her Master's degree at McGill University in 2006 and is currently, as a PhD candidate, at the University of Toronto researching the environmental history of golf in northeastern North America.

ERRATUM *JETS 28*

In the Spring 2006 edition of JETS, Volume 28, the Archives Department section included an article titled "Received Correspondence of the Stone and Hunting Families, Hunting Family fonds P160." When the article was written, the ETRC Archivist, Sophie Morel, pieced together the complicated Hunting and Stone family genealogies from the information contained in the fonds as well as some published resources available. Nonetheless, the accessible information was still limited. Since publication, a reader, who has done extensive research on the Stone family genealogy, has brought a number of mistakes to our attention. In an attempt to correct the mistakes, the following is a revised version of the Hunting and Stone family genealogies.

The article included transcriptions of two letters from Leonard Stone Jr. to Lyman E. Hunting, and two letters from Emeline Stone Gates to her cousin Clarissa Henrietta Wright. Lyman E. Hunting was one of William and Mary Polly (Stone) Hunting's nine children. Leonard Stone Jr. and Mary Polly Stone were siblings and children of Leonard Stone Sr. and Catherine Wyman Stone, which makes Leonard Stone Jr. the uncle of Lyman E. Hunting.

Leonard Stone Sr. and Benjamin Stone were brothers. Benjamin Stone married Prudence Farnsworth; they had a total of nine children, including Benjamin, Phineas, Philip, Edmund and Prudence. These five siblings were all early settlers of the Township of Ascot. Clarissa Henrietta Wright was the daughter of Prudence Stone and Jason Wright while Emeline Stone Gates was the daughter of Phineas Stone and Salome Spafford. After Phineas' death in Lennoxville in 1846, his wife and children moved to Shullsburg, Wisconsin. This made Emeline Stone Gates (who lived in the United States), Clarissa Henrietta Wright, and Lyman E. Hunting cousins.

Much appreciation is extended to this researcher for informing the Eastern Townships Research Centre of the errors and graciously offering her assistance and research in order to correct the inaccuracies.

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Publication of this journal is made possible by support to the Eastern Townships Research Centre from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec, Bishop's University, and Bishop's University Foundation.

La publication de cette revue est rendue possible grâce à l'appui du Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada, du ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec, de l'Université Bishop's et de la Fondation de l'Université Bishop's au Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est.

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ISSN 1192-7062